

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Editor's Note: The President was in the Middle East on October 28, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, October 28, 1994

The President's News Conference

October 21, 1994

The President. Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, when I became President, I did so with a commitment to help more Americans seek a higher education, because it was important for our people and important for our long-term economy.

A big part of the problem of getting more Americans into college and having them stay there has been the broken Federal college loan program. It's too expensive, it did not provide eligibility for too many middle class people, and there were too many people who didn't go to college or, having gone to college, dropped out because they never thought they could meet their repayment options. There were others who were frustrated because they thought they couldn't take a job they might want because they simply wouldn't earn enough money to meet their repayment obligations.

Today, I want to talk about what we have done to fix that system. We already give Americans looking forward to their retirement the chance to save in what we called an Individual Retirement Account. Now we offer people at the beginning of their careers the chance to pay for college in what we call individual education accounts. Here's how it works.

The individual education account enables you to borrow money for college and then to determine how best to pay it back in the way that best fits each individual's needs as their work life changes. There will be four ways to repay the accounts, and people will be able to switch back and forth among payment options at any time and at no cost, depending on what's best for them. Under one option, you can simply pay a fixed amount back on your loan over 10 years. Two other options will permit people with very high debts to spread their repayments over a longer period of time. And as I promised dur-

ing our campaign, people will be able to pay back their debts as a percentage of their incomes for the life of the loan.

This income contingent repayment, or pay-as-you-can option, will give people the chance to start a business, do community service, work as teachers, police officers, or in other public-service-oriented employment and make payments in smaller amounts in the early years if their wages are lower.

Our plan eliminates the middle man in the student loan process, who used to impose enormous and inefficient transaction costs, and, in so doing, to save \$4.3 billion for U.S. taxpayers and \$2 billion for students in lower loan fees. It means that more people will be able to borrow in a simple, fair, and affordable way.

Over the next few years, as part of our larger school reform, named for Congressman Bill Ford who's retiring this year, every American will be eligible for an individual education account. Already, 300,000 students have taken out these new college loans. By next year, 40 percent of all of our colleges, some 1,500 of them, will be enrolled. In January, we'll announce a phased-in plan to allow millions of people who have already borrowed for their educations to consolidate their loans into an individual education account and get the benefits of these new repayment options.

As more and more middle income Americans will discover, this is a very good deal, which is a very important part of America's long-term strategy for economic health.

Unfortunately, there are those who don't support this approach and want to take us back to the days when working families couldn't afford to send their children to college. Every single one of our political opponents voted against the college loan reform plan. Most of them have now signed a contract telling us what they would do if they controlled Congress. They would give a \$200 billion tax cut to the wealthiest Americans,

they would explode the deficit, and to help pay for their promises, they have made a specific pledge to cut the student loan programs for 3 million American student borrowers every year. Well, our contract is with the future. I don't want to go back, and I don't believe the American people will support this approach.

Ten days ago I got a letter that shows how important this issue is. A 16-year-old boy named Artur Orkisz, who immigrated here from Poland just 4 years ago, attends Elk Grove School in Des Plaines, Illinois. Here's what he wrote me about his dream of going to college: "Since I came to the United States, my dream has been to attend a school like Harvard or Stanford. I rank number one in my class, but I know for a fact my parents are not going to be able to pay my tuition if I should get accepted to a good university. I'd like to know if students not as rich as others will get the opportunity to fulfill the American dream and graduate from a great university?" Well, Artur, if you're listening, I got your message, and the individual education account will help you get your wish.

Before I take your questions, I'd like to say just a word about the framework with North Korea that Ambassador Gallucci signed this morning. This is a good deal for the United States. North Korea will freeze and then dismantle its nuclear program. South Korea and our other allies will be better protected. The entire world will be safer as we slow the spread of nuclear weapons.

South Korea, with support from Japan and other nations, will bear most of the cost of providing North Korea with fuel to make up for the nuclear energy it is losing. And they will pay for an alternative power system for North Korea that will allow them to produce electricity, while making it much harder for them to produce nuclear weapons.

The United States and international inspectors will carefully monitor North Korea to make sure it keeps its commitments. Only as it does so will North Korea fully join the community of nations.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, when you met last January with President Asad of Syria, he said that

peace with Israel was a strategic option. And you said that he was taking the risks for peace. Has he followed through on that? Do you think that he's been forthright enough? And when you go to the Middle East next week, what can you do to break this impasse between Syria and Israel?

The President. Well, I can say that there has been progress in the negotiations between Israel and Syria. Let me also say in general terms why I'm going there.

As you know, I and my administration have worked very hard for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. It is very much in the interest of the United States. I have been invited by King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin to be at this signing, and I think it's important that, particularly now, with the violent reaction to the efforts at peace, that the United States stand shoulder-to-shoulder with our friends and allies who are taking such terrific risks to make peace.

While I am there, I will visit Syria because it is my judgment that the visit will further the goal of an ultimate peace agreement between Israel and Syria. And until that is done, we will never have comprehensive peace in the Middle East. There has been some progress in the negotiations, which are, as you know, candid and confidential between the two. I think there will be more progress. I want there to be more progress, and I think this visit will further it.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. I have a three-part question. In the overall sense, what do you expect to achieve from this trip? In view of the recent incidents, are there real security concerns? And in the interest of reconciliation, will you try to persuade Israel to release some of the thousands of political Palestinian prisoners that it still holds?

The President. First of all, let me begin with your second question. I have confidence in the security capacity of the governments and the countries that I will visit and in, of course, the work of our own Secret Service. And I think it is terribly important, especially since there have been violent reactions from the enemies of peace, that the United States stand with the friends of peace and the champions of peace at this time. It is even more

important than it would have been a few days ago that I go there and that our country stick up for this.

Secondly, what I hope to achieve is to continue to further the peace process. This peace treaty is a huge step forward. I will have the opportunity in Cairo to meet with President Mubarak and Mr. Arafat. I will have a chance there to talk about the importance of implementing fully the PLO-Israel accord. I will have the opportunity to go to Syria. As to what specific things I will discuss with Prime Minister Rabin and others, I think it's better for me to have the conversations and discuss it later.

Q. —be trying to move everything forward?

The President. I will definitely be trying to move everything forward. My purpose in going there is, first, to stand with our friends at this moment when they're standing up for peace and the enemies of peace are trying to derail them and, secondly, to move the peace process forward.

Q. Mr. President, how difficult a decision was this to go to Damascus, since your own State Department still lists Syria as a country that supports international terrorism? And a related question, only this morning, there were Katiusha rockets landing from southern Lebanon, an area dominated by Syrian control, landing in northern Israel. How do you believe that this will advance the peace process? And do you have any assurances in advance from President Asad that he's willing to go further now than he went in Geneva earlier this year?

The President. First, I think that with regard to the Katiusha rockets, I think that matter will be resolved between the parties involved before the trip develops. Secondly, with regard to meeting President Asad, even though Syria is on the terrorist list, that remains an issue between our two countries. It is a serious issue. It has been constantly discussed between us, and it will continue to be. But I do not believe that we can permit it to keep us from pursuing a comprehensive peace as long as nothing in our peace agreements undermines our commitment to end terrorism.

So I believe that anything I can do, just as I did when I met with President Asad in

Geneva, to further the peace process is something that ought to be done. And I believe that by meeting with him and talking with him and working with him, we will continue to make some advances.

Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News].

Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, what can the United States do to make sure that Hamas is not getting money from organizations here in the United States, not recruiting people and training people here in the United States? And are you satisfied with Yasser Arafat's response so far, in his willingness to really crack down on Hamas and other terrorist groups?

The President. We can, here, do everything we can through the FBI and our other law enforcement agencies to make sure that we're handling any possible illegal activities in the United States redounding to the benefit of Hamas vigorously. And just in the last week, I have given instructions to the proper Federal agencies to redouble our efforts in that regard.

With regard to your question about Mr. Arafat, I do believe, and the Israelis believe, that he did his best to support them with good intelligence when Corporal Waxman was captured and held hostage. And I believe that in the wake of the killing of Corporal Waxman, the determination of the PLO to distance itself from Hamas and to enforce the law within its territories has stiffened, and I think it will continue to stiffen.

Q. Do think that he has cracked down sufficiently in the Gaza, especially regarding this latest incident?

The President. I think that he's moving in the right direction. One of the things that we are always trying to determine in this moment when they're taking over in the West Bank and Gaza is the capacity of the Palestinian Government, the PLO government, to do that work, and we're trying to support an increase in that capacity. I can say that I believe that they're moving in the right direction.

Haiti

Q. Mr. President, having spent hundreds of millions of dollars to restore democracy to Haiti, why is it necessary for American taxpayers to spend still more, renting the

homes that Raoul Cédras left behind? I realize it's a relatively insignificant sum, but isn't that adding insult to injury?

The President. Well, first of all, I don't think it's an insult that we spent the money to restore democracy to Haiti. Let's look at what has happened in the last 4 weeks. We have restored democracy. The military dictators have stepped down. The military dictators have left Haiti. President Aristide is rebuilding his government. The economy is beginning to be rebuilt. People are being put to work at rebuilding the country. This is a signal triumph for the men and women in uniform who are down there and the work that they have done, and it is a very important lesson in what can be done to promote democracy and to end human rights abuses.

Now, with regard to the houses, let me just say that the United States and other countries that are with us on the coalition are not in the business of expropriating people's property. And when you make people leave their home, something arguably should have been done. The only instruction I gave was that nothing could be done that would exceed the fair market value of the property—that was the rule under which the State Department was operating anyway—and that some use had to be made of it. So they're either going to use it or turn around and release it so that the taxpayers in this country aren't disadvantaged by it. But I think that this policy has been phenomenally successful in terms of saving lives, not putting Americans unduly at risk, and moving this country's objectives forward. And I think the American people should be very proud of it.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, during the last Persian Gulf crisis, the Bush White House at times suggested that Saddam Hussein should be overthrown. What's your assessment of the internal situation in Iraq now, and do you think Saddam Hussein should be overthrown?

The President. Well, the Bush White House also made it clear that a condition of their international coalition was that they would not do the overthrowing. My position is that we should keep the pressure on that regime as long as it is out of compliance with

U.N. Security Council resolutions. And there are obviously costs to the regime internally from that pressure. And that is the consequence of the misconduct of Saddam Hussein. And the immediate threat is receding. The withdrawal above the 32d parallel is nearly completed.

But we will maintain the deployment at the level we have it now for a while. We will watch the situation. I am gratified by the United Nations Security Council resolution unanimously condemning that conduct. There is no question that internally the pressure will continue to build up unless Saddam Hussein decides to do the right thing and fully comply with the Security Council resolutions.

Q. And your assessment of the internal situation there?

The President. Your assessment might be as good as mine. I think there are extra pressures on them. And I think that those are creating some difficulties, but I don't want to predict what would happen within Iraq.

Midterm Elections

Q. Mr. President, to change to domestic policy—or politics. For the first time in 40 years, a multitude of polls are suggesting that more Americans are prepared to vote for Republicans in congressional elections than Democrats. Can you explain why that's happening for the first time since the Truman administration and to what degree you believe your administration is responsible for it?

The President. Well, I think it's changing in the last few days, and we didn't want to peak too soon. [Laughter] Let me say, just on a brief, serious note, one of the things that we know is that Americans almost always do the right thing when they have all the information. We know that Americans literally don't know a lot of what went on in Congress, who was responsible for what, and what's happening now. As more and more Americans find out between now and election day that our administration, working with our allies in Congress, did things to make Government work for ordinary Americans—like the middle class college loans, the family leave law, the Brady bill, immunizing kids under the age of 2, a dozen more

things—and that these things were uniformly opposed by the Republican congressional leadership and sometimes by all Republicans—that the Republicans killed the Superfund law to clean up toxic dumps and all the political campaign reform laws and now have a contract that would take us back to the trickle-down economics of the eighties, explode the deficit, ship jobs overseas, and cause the cuts of Medicare and all other Government programs, including student loans, and they talk tough on crime, but they've got a plan to cut the crime bill and make sure it can't be funded and police officers can't be put out there—I think the voters will change their minds. And I think that when Congress went home and the American people now have a chance to hear the debate and hear both sides, if we can get the evidence and the arguments out there, I feel quite confident that they'll do the right thing.

Medicare

Q. You and other Democrats around the country have been complaining about the contract that—the Republicans' contract with America—that it would cut Medicare steeply. Can you say that you would not propose to cut Medicare next year?

The President. You know what my position is. My position is that any Medicare savings that we can get from managing the program better should be put back into providing for the health care needs of our country. That was my position, that's the position that I offered in the health care debate, and that's still my position.

Virginia Senatorial Campaign

Q. President Clinton, there have been a lot of reports coming out about you meeting with former Governor Wilder. Can you tell us whether the subject of an ambassadorship for him to an African country ever came up during that recent meeting in exchange for any promise he made to endorse Chuck Robb? And what do you think of the comments that candidate Oliver North has been coming up with, suggesting that there should be some kind of investigation of the meeting, that you may have broken the law during that meeting?

The President. Well, first of all, there was absolutely no discussion along the lines you mentioned of an ambassadorship to an African country in return for his endorsement of Senator Robb; that just did not happen. I would not do that, I would never be part of that, and that did not happen. The Vice President spoke to it today; I will tell you again, that did not happen. It did not happen.

Now, you know, Oliver North says a lot of things, and you know, if you've got \$17.5 million to buy your own version of the truth, then you don't have to be held, apparently, to the same standard that other people do. I noticed the other day he said that I wasn't his Commander in Chief, and someone asked me if it bothered me. I said, it didn't bother me nearly as much as the fact that he didn't act as if Ronald Reagan was his Commander in Chief, either, when he had a chance. [Laughter] So, I don't know what else to say about Mr. North.

Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News].

Foreign Policy

Q. Mr. President, you've been able to report advances in foreign policy across a number of fronts, some that you've mentioned here today. I doubt anyone here would have anticipated 2 years ago you would be spending next week, the week before the election, out of the country. Obviously, historic events have something to do with that, but I wonder if your attitude toward the role of foreign policy in your Presidency and your absorption with it and interest in it has changed or grown.

The President. I wouldn't say that, but what is happening now with regard to Haiti and Korea and Iraq in the sense that Iraq is an example of our increased mobility as a result of commitments we made in the defense budgets, what happened with the Chinese commitment to comply with the missile control regime and not to sell dangerous missiles to its neighbors, a lot of these things are the accumulation of 2 years of hard work, trying to fashion the national security of the United States and advance the economic interests of the United States and advance democracy in the post-cold-war world. And it is all—a lot of these things have come together in a short time. But we have been

working on them for quite a long time now, and it's just, I think, to some extent, a simple coincidence that the benefits of these long efforts are coming to fruition now.

You're right, I never would have anticipated going to the Middle East at this particular season, but I think it would be wrong for me not to go, particularly for the reasons I just said at this moment. I think it's important.

And one of the things I tried to say in the election campaign that I'd like to reiterate—I wish it were possible for the American people to believe what I believe about this, which is that there is no simple and easy dividing line between domestic policy and foreign policy, that in a global economy, a global society where everything is so interrelated, we can't be strong abroad if we're not strong at home. But we cannot maintain our internal strength and our values unless we are secure and strong beyond our borders.

Washington, DC

Q. Mr. President, Washington is becoming an issue in this campaign. The latest thing is that a candidate in Oklahoma says there are no normal people here. [Laughter] You've lived here almost 2 years now. I wonder what you think of Washington?

The President. I would be glad to testify in court that I think you are a normal person. [Laughter] I don't know. I think there is a bunch of normal folks here, but I think this atmosphere is sort of abnormal. The thing that I think is bizarre, though, is I think the American people need to have their antenna up when they hear that, especially since Mr. Gingrich had already said in his meeting with the Republican professional politicians that his mission in life was to convince people that I was the enemy of normal Americans. So I would just caution the voters everywhere in this country, and when they hear somebody say there's no normal people in Washington, a lot of the people that are saying it are the people that have done their best to hang on to every last job they could get in Washington in the executive branch for two, three decades now. So the atmosphere is abnormal, and that makes the people sometimes do and say weird things. But there's a lot of fine folks here, and what we

ought to do is kind of get together and do better.

Deborah [Deborah Mathis, Gannett News Service].

Social Problems

Q. Mr. President, notwithstanding the problems all around the world, there are pernicious social problems here in the United States. And many of these problems, in many views, are breaking down along racial lines. Indeed, some people say that the progress of the sixties has been upset and overturned, that the great divide between black and white is worsening, widening. And lately, there is a new book out that suggests that these problems, these conflicts may be inherent, and we may be doomed to them. What do you think about race as it applies to the social problems? And what can you do, what can a government do to try and fix some of it?

The President. Well, if you're asking me first of all about Mr. Murray's book, I haven't read it. But as I understand the argument of it, I have to say I disagree with the proposition that there are inherent, racially based differences in the capacity of the American people to reach their full potential. I just don't agree with that. It goes against our entire history and our whole tradition.

I also think if you—let's just take the social problems. And I guess—I don't want to overly digress; I know a lot of you have a lot of questions, but this is a huge deal. I don't know if you saw the piece in the Wall Street Journal not very long ago where black Americans and white Americans were polled about the social problems generally, crime, family breakdown, drugs, gangs, violence, welfare dependency, the aggregate of them, overwhelming majorities agreed that these were the great problems of our country. And they've been developing for 30 years now. Then, overwhelming majorities agreed that we needed to reform the welfare system to move people from welfare to work. The great divergence came when one group said that this was caused because of the loss of economic opportunity, and the Government had a responsibility to rebuild it. And the other group said, no, this is caused by an escalating amount of personal misconduct, and people needed to change their personal behavior. In

other words, the Government can't do anything about it.

I would like to make the following points: I think both groups are right and both groups are wrong, number one. Number two, there's not as much racial difference here as you think there is. And let me try to illustrate it by starting at the second point.

The out-of-wedlock birth rate in the aggregate in the United States is today about 30 percent. It is higher for African-American young women—that is a birth where there was never a marriage—than it is for white young women, but it is rising faster among whites than among blacks, markedly faster. And it seems to be far more tied to poverty and lack of education and lack of being connected to the future than to race. Number two, it is plain that we are dealing with both the loss of economic opportunity and a changed set of social mores, a changed sense of what is right and wrong, what is acceptable and unacceptable. And I believe we need to change both.

What can the Government do about it? What can the President do about it? First, we can try to bring this economy back. In 1994, we've had more high-wage jobs created in our economy than in the previous 5 years combined. This is the first year when over half of the jobs coming into our economy are above average wages. Number two, as all of you know, I have signed laws to create community development banks and empowerment zones in our inner cities to try to get investment back there, to give hope to people who have been left behind, to try to do the economic mission. But having said that, to try to rebuild a society that has been pressured both in our inner cities and our isolated rural areas for a generation now—we're talking about 30 years of serious pressure—is going to take a concerted effort that starts with parents and churches and community groups and private business people and people at the local level. The Federal Government cannot be the salvation of that. We have to rebuild the bonds of society.

And everybody has a role to play. That's why—I want to compliment—Deputy Secretary Kunin is here, Governor Kunin from the Department of Education. We signed the elementary and secondary education act

today; we're kicking off the college loan program—yesterday—we're kicking off the college loan program today. One of the things in that act that Secretary Riley fought so hard for was the so-called character education provision, so that the schools can explicitly work with their communities and agree about what values need to be transferred to children through the schools and promote them.

This is a very serious and complicated issue. I think it is a quick fix to try to break it down by race. I believe that the evidence is clear that what we ought to be working on is a way for every kid in this country to live up to the fullest of their potential. And that potential is quite extraordinary, and they will do quite well without regard to race if we can attack these problems.

North Korea

Q. Mr. President, a question on the North Korean nuclear arms accord. Even before the ink is dry on that accord, officials of the International Atomic Energy Association are complaining it denies them of a key right, that of special inspections. Doesn't this set a bad precedent for other countries with nuclear ambitions, such as Iran?

The President: I don't think it does deny them special inspections. It commits North Korea first to freeze and then to dismantle, something they've never committed to do before and something they weren't required to do under the NPT. It also commits them to ship out their spent nuclear fuel, to get it physically out of the country so they cannot do anything with it.

The question of special inspections, whether and when, is put off from the present. And that bothers some people, but if you consider the fact that the waste sites are not going anywhere, that the IAEA is going to be in the country, and that we have a commitment for a freeze and then a dismantling and that if they ever violate it they won't get the benefits that they seek from it, it seems to me this is still a very good deal indeed. And I think that what we have to do is to work with the IAEA people who will be on the ground and work out the practical details of this.

Racial Diversity

Q. Mr. President, related to Deborah's question, several years ago a Piscataway, New Jersey, school board had to lay off teachers. And it came to a white female teacher and a black female teacher. And rather than flipping a coin—as it turns out, both had been hired on the same day so they had equal experience—the school board fired the white teacher because of the color of her skin. Now, your Justice Department originally opposed the school board in court, but has flipped recently. And I was wondering if you agree with that decision, if you think that we need more affirmative action acts like this or whether that's a case of reverse discrimination.

The President. I support the position as finally articulated, but I'd like to say it's a very narrow case. That is, if you have a school district where the children are overwhelmingly of one race or another and the faculty is as well and you have two equally qualified people and you stipulate that—in this case, both sides in the lawsuit stipulated they were absolutely equally qualified—then can trying to preserve some racial diversity on your faculty be a ground for making the decision, as opposed to flipping a coin? As long as it runs both ways, or all ways, I support that decision, that is, there are other conditions in which if there were only one white teacher on the faculty in a certain area and there were two teachers, they were equally qualified, and the school board or the school administrator decided to keep the white teacher also to preserve racial diversity. That is the position the Justice Department has taken. And on those very narrow grounds, I support it because both sides stipulated, both teachers and their lawyers stipulated that there was absolutely no difference in their qualifications for the job.

Midterm Elections

Q. Mr. President, this is a political season, and you've been out in the stump a fair amount. What is your prediction of how many seats the Democrats will lose in the House and the Senate? And do you think if the Republicans manage to win the House, given all the mean things that have been said

this year, could you work with a Speaker Newt Gingrich? [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, you know Newt's the person that said I was the enemy of normal Americans. I didn't say that about him. The American people have to make a judgment in the election. I can tell you this: I believe with all my heart if the American people knew the record of our administration in making advances, making this Government work for ordinary people, if they knew that; if they knew what we'd done to restore the economy, bring the deficit down, shrink the size of the Federal Government; if they knew what we'd done in passing the crime bill; and if they knew the extent to which the Republican leadership had opposed this every step of the way; if they understand what's in this contract; then if they know we have a contract with the future, that my only interest is in moving this country into the future in a stronger position, I don't believe we would lose seats at all.

Now, almost always at midterm the incumbent President's party loses seats. That's partly because there's a lag between when you do something and when people feel it. And of course, this is an extremely contentious time. But I believe that that will happen. So what I'm going to do in the next 2½ weeks is to do everything I can to get as many voters as possible to know exactly what the facts are and what our vision for the future is. Then they will make their judgment. After they make their judgment, I will do everything I can to honor their judgment by fulfilling my responsibility, which is to challenge every Member of Congress without regard to party and especially the leaders to work with me to make this country a better place. That's what I have always done, and that's what I will do.

Northern Ireland

Q. Mr. President, now that the IRA and the loyalists paramilitaries in Northern Ireland have called a cease-fire, which has been today accepted by Prime Minister Major, can you say how soon the administration will have ready a package of economic incentives to help a peacetime Northern Ireland economy? And can you characterize the package? And can you also say what is now the United

States role in the talks that are going to take place regarding Northern Ireland?

The President. Let me first congratulate the action which was taken and Prime Minister Major's response to it. I think both are very hopeful. And I am very glad that the United States has been able to be involved in this peace process in Northern Ireland. We will continue to be involved in it. And we certainly want to contribute to the development of Northern Ireland in ways that go beyond even what we've done already with the Irish-American fund. And there are a lot of private citizens in this country who are also really committed to that. And in the end, they will have the most to say about it because we need private enterprise development in Northern Ireland. We have looked at a number of options. We have not finalized any of them because obviously we want to wait for developments to unfold, until the appropriate point. We're a lot closer to the appropriate point today because of the announcements that have been made.

Bill [Bill Plante, CBS News].

Bosnia

Q. Mr. President, are you still committed to lifting the arms embargo against Bosnian Muslims unilaterally if you can't achieve it in the U.N. Security Council by November 15th, even though that might mean the evacuation by peacekeeping forces, a buildup by the Serbs, and alienation of our relations with the Russians?

The President. Well, let's go back to the timetable first. Under the law that our Congress adopted that I agreed to, the compromise we worked out between the administration and the Congress, because the October 15th deadline has passed without an acceptance of the peace plan by the Bosnian Serbs, we are obliged to go to the United Nations with a resolution to lift the arms embargo through the United Nations, but at the request of the Bosnian Government to delay it for 6 months, to give us 6 more months to work on the peace. That is our commitment. If that fails, we are then obliged to go back and consult with Congress to discuss whether we should have a unilateral lift.

I still believe that is a mistake. I have believed for more than 2 years that would be

a mistake, because if we lift unilaterally it will cause the collapse of the United Nations mission. The people of the United States don't want our soldiers to go there alone to engage in a battle that is essentially a civil war. I am convinced that the United Nations troops, or most of them, will withdraw if there's a unilateral lift. And I am convinced that it will undermine our ability to work with other countries within the United Nations to resolve this. So I don't support that. But under the law I am obliged to bring that back to Congress and work it through. But keep in mind, we still have 6 months to work through this in the United Nations at the request of the Bosnian Government itself. So that's what we'll keep working on.

Hillary Clinton's Role

Q. I want to ask you about Mrs. Clinton, if I may. What is Mrs. Clinton's professional role at this point? Will she be fully engaged in the health care bill after the next Congress? And does she have any other professional or political portfolio right now?

The President. You bet she does. I mean, I think if you follow her schedule every day, you know what she's doing. And of course, she will continue to be involved in health care. I would never call it a professional role except insofar as everything she does as First Lady is professional. But we intend to continue to work on the health care issue.

I would remind you that another 1,100,000 Americans in working families lost their health insurance this year, that the new estimates are that unless we do something about the rising cost of health care, we will be spending well over 25 percent of our Federal budget on health outlays early in the next century or the next decade now. So we're going to have to face this. This is not a problem that's going to go away. It's going to keep rearing its head.

Immigration

Q. A year ago, you took a position on a California ballot initiative. Do you have any advice this year for Californians facing Proposition 187, which would deny benefits to illegal aliens, and services? And do you have any concerns about the strong tide of anti-

immigrant feelings that are in California right now?

The President. Yes, I have concerns about it. I spoke about this briefly with USA Today a couple of days ago, but I'd like to talk about it a moment.

First, let me say the people of California and the people of the United States are right in wanting to eliminate illegal immigration and increase our ability to protect our own borders, even against people that we welcome to our shores when they are legal immigrants. That was a part of the tension recently with regard to Cuba when we made the agreement to stop illegal immigration there. It was part of the early tension last summer with regard to Haiti. The people of California, therefore, are right to want that.

It is, on the other hand, a great mistake to be against immigration generally. We are a nation of immigrants. Practically all of us have forebears who came from somewhere else. And from time to time, we have been greatly strengthened by immigrants. The fact that we have so many different people of different races and ethnic groups and religious backgrounds will be, I might add, an enormous strength for this country as we move into the next century and we get into a global economy.

Let me just give you one small example, and I will come back to 187. What other country besides the United States could have undertaken the operation in Haiti and sent Haitian-American soldiers in uniform to Haiti to speak Creole to the citizens of that country? That's just one example. We're having the Summit of the Americas here in December. We can do that because Spanish is the second language of America now and because of our growing involvement in the rest of the world. So we—in being against illegal immigration, we should not be against immigration and the incredible source of strength that immigrants bring to our borders.

Now, what to do about it. I guess I've spent as much time working on California and the problems of California, the economic problems of California, as any President ever has. It was my duty to do so. They've had so many problems, caused by the decline of defense spending, caused by the recession generally, coupled with the explosion of immigration

and a whole range of other problems they have out there.

Look at what we have done: We have increased spending on the States to deal with the immigration problems by 32 percent since I've been President, even though we've been cutting overall spending. We've increased border guards by 30 percent. We put 1,000 more border guards on. We have doubled the border guards in San Diego. We've had—San Diego and El Paso and Arizona. We've had very successful initiatives to slow the influx of illegal immigrants. We have toughened the penalties. We're beginning to send criminals who are illegal immigrants out of the country. We are the first administration ever to give money to the States to deal with the criminal justice costs. We're spending money on health care and education never before spent. So we are doing things that have not been done.

Barbara Jordan just issued her commission's report. We have those recommendations under advisement. We are going to do some things that will continue to increase our capacity to reduce illegal immigration. That's what I think the right thing to do is.

I have some problems with 187. One is, even its supporters admit that it's unconstitutional. And I don't think as a matter of practice it's a good thing to condition an election referendum, much less other elections in California, on a measure that even the supporters say is unconstitutional. Secondly, I think it presents significant risks. If you don't give the children health care, you can create health risks for the society generally. If you don't give the children education, and they're still in the country and you can't get them out, then they'll be on the street, and the increased risks of crime or other antisocial behavior will go up. If you turn the teachers and other educators into instruments of a sort of a State police force, it's like bringing Big Brother into the schools.

I guess what I'm saying is, I sort of agree with what Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett said in their article about it. And I applaud them for saying it. I mean, this is an issue again where our parties ought to be together. Historically, both Republican and Democratic parties have been strengthened by our immigrants. And I think—if the people of Califor-

nia would be fully candid, they would have to say that leadership decisions made in the past in California have actually facilitated illegal immigration, when they were called undocumented immigrants, in ways that people in California thought were supporting the economic growth of California in good times.

So we need to back away and change our policy. But we don't need to do it in a way that is overbroad, that runs the risk of these problems, and that is plainly unconstitutional, in my judgment. And I have fought harder, I think, than any President to help California deal with the problems of illegal immigration. I just don't think that's the way to do it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 74th news conference began at 2:32 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Charles Murray, co-author of "The Bell Curve"; former Secretary of Housing and Development Jack Kemp; former Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy William J. Bennett; and Barbara Jordan, Chair of the Commission on Immigration Reform. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at the Kennedy-King Dinner in Alexandria, Virginia

October 21, 1994

The President. Thank you very much, Governor Wilder, especially for that introduction. You know, you mentioned the PLO-Israel signing. It put me in mind of Arafat and Rabin when you and Chuck were shaking hands then. Peace is breaking out all over. [Laughter]

Let me thank Margo Horner and Mame Reiley and Mark Warner for their leadership and for having us here, thank my good friend Jim Moran for that magnificent speech from the heart. Leslie Byrne had to go and win her debate, but I ask you to help her come back. She is a fine woman and wonderful Congresswoman. And Don Beyer, thanks for reminding everybody how we're doing in auto sales and—[laughter]—how well we are doing in our heart. You were great tonight, and I thank you for that. He can really give a talk.

You know, I want to say a few words about two friends of mine, people I serve with, Governor Wilder and then-Governor Robb. And I want to try to get you to think about this election beyond the cheerers here. First, let me say that I thank Doug Wilder for what he said about our administration and our efforts. I thank him for being a longtime friend and colleague and a worthy adversary when we were campaigning in the snows of New Hampshire. I thank him for being an example to a lot of young people in this country, that you really can get there if you have real big dreams and you work hard and you do what you ought to do. Maybe that's the most important thing of all. And I thank him for being here tonight, because what he said here tonight is a genuine expression of love and concern for the future of the people he had served for so many years in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Let me say to Chuck and Linda Robb, I am really sorry they've had to take so many licks for being friends of mine. [Laughter] That goes with the territory, I guess, but I'd never have believed it if you'd told me a year or 2 ago that it would have happened. I can tell you that I have known them a long time. We served together. We've been overseas together. We've been up and down together before. And I have watched Chuck Robb go through this campaign. I have watched him attacked, vilified. I've seen his record distorted and outright falsified. I've seen him labor on in good cheer in the face of the richest campaign in the history of the United States to buy the hearts and minds of the people in any State. He had a magnificent record as a marine officer in Vietnam. He was a terrific Lieutenant Governor and a wonderful Governor of this State. Under Republican Presidents, he was telling people of both parties we had to do something about this awful Government deficit that was robbing our children of their future. But this is his finest hour.

Anybody can run and do well in the good times. Anybody can keep on going when you know you are solidly anchored in the spirit of the people. But when a tidal wave comes along, venom and anger and misrepresentation fueled by unlimited money, to stand strong, to not cut and run, to be brave

enough to defend what you know is right, to risk it all for the people you really love, those of you who are voting for him and the people who ought to be voting for him who aren't yet, that is his finest hour.

You know, I've been giving a little bit of thought about this election that's going to come up and all the stuff's being said and how I have become the poster boy for Mr. Gingrich and his crowd. *[Laughter]* Now they don't even sort of sneak around about it, you know. The other day after they killed the lobbying bill and one of their number walked off the floor of the Senate and was cheered by the throngs of lobbyists for killing the lobbying bill on a Saturday—on Monday they met with the lobbyists and said, "Okay, we share your values and you better give us money, and don't give the Democrats money, or else." And then the next day, the House leader, Mr. Gingrich, said that their goal, the Republican goal, was to convince the American people that I was the enemy of normal Americans. I always thought my problem was I was too normal, you know. *[Laughter]*

I know Virginia is modernizing and growing and diversifying and all of that stuff. And it's magnificent. When I was a Governor and I served with Doug and Chuck, I used to resent how rich Virginia was getting. *[Laughter]* But I applaud your successes, and I have now contributed to them with some of the defense decisions that have been made in this administration.

But to get right down to it, this is a Southern race, this whole deal. You think about it. Most of us remember—going back to what Jimmy said—where we were on April 4, 1968, and June 6, 1968, when Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were killed. It was like somebody tearing a big piece out of our heart because they made us better than we would otherwise have been, not because they were, as they are now painted by our adversaries, the apostles of some liberal, insensitive big Government. Quite the contrary. Read what they said. Both of them wanted Government's power to be used to help ordinary people without regard to their race. But both of them preached the gospel of personal responsibility and cautioned against overreliance on Government.

Robert Kennedy went into Indiana and talked to blue-collar workers who thought they were for George Wallace and got them to be for him because he was both tough on crime and compassionate on civil rights.

Martin Luther King didn't say, "No matter who you are, you're entitled to a handout." He said, "No matter who you are, you have to do your job as well as you can. And if your job is to be a street sweeper, you ought to sweep the streets like Michael-Angelo painted the Sistine Chapel," not an apostle of some sort of over-weening Government, but to use the power of the people to help ordinary folks without regard to their race to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential. And each of them confronted people who tried to demonize them.

Now, let's face it folks, I'm a son of the South, and they have tried to demonize me in the South. And they've done a pretty good job of it, haven't they? *[Laughter]* They've done a pretty good job of it.

Let's think tonight about the next 17 days and who is not for Chuck Robb for the Senate, and why. What is it that they object to that we have done together that is not normal? Let's talk about it. Let's talk about it. And I want you to think about it, because it's not enough for you to stand up here and shout hallelujah. You've got to go out and get some other folks when you leave here. So you talk about it.

Now, I want you to think about this. I came to Washington to revive the American dream, to do three things: to put the Government back on the side of ordinary Americans, to bring the economy back, and to make the world more peaceful and prosperous for Americans to live and work in. Now, what is it that they object to that is not normal? Is it that we honored work in family with the family and medical leave law? Is it that we're going to immunize all the kids in this country under the age of 2 by 1996? Is it because another 200,000 kids are going into the Head Start program over this period? Is that what they don't think is right? Is it the fact that we gave tax cuts to 15 million working families because they're working 40 hours a week and they've got kids in the house and they still live on modest wages and we don't think that anybody that works full-time and

is raising kids should live in poverty? Is that not normal? What is it that they object to about that? Well, their leaders opposed every single one of those initiatives. And I think that is not normal. Most normal Americans want it.

This is Virginia. Do you know what's on Thomas Jefferson's tombstone? "Author of the Declaration of Independence, the Statutes of Religious Freedom for the State of Virginia, founder of the University of Virginia."

Now, were we abnormal to totally revamp the expensive and inefficient college loan program, saving over \$4 billion in tax money, saving students \$2 billion in excessive fees so that we could loan college money to more students, to middle class students at better terms and lower interest rates, so that by the time we're done we will have 20 million more Americans eligible for lower interest college loans? In the State of Virginia I say to you, that is normal, and every single one of them opposed it.

Is it abnormal to recoil in fear and disgust and horror at the crime and violence that is gripping our people and to say, You folks have been talking about a crime bill for 6 years. Why don't we do something strange and surprise the American people and actually pass one instead of talking about it, to put the police on the street—and we've already started in Northern Virginia putting police on the street—to build more prison cells, to have those prevention funds to give the kids something to say yes to, to have tougher penalties. Is that abnormal? I think that was normal.

What is abnormal is that you could convince the people that it wasn't normal in this strange time. Tell the truth. This was a good thing for the people of Virginia.

What about the way we ran the Government? They say that we're too liberal and they're so conservative. They quadrupled the debt in 12 years. For them, two and two was always five. *[Laughter]* They railed against the Government, and they railed against the deficit, but they could not afford to do anything about it because it required a decision instead of tough talk.

So was that abnormal that we're bringing the deficit down, that we're actually reducing

the size of the Federal Government they always complained about but never did anything about? Was it abnormal when we passed the procurement bill that changes the way we buy goods and services and will save billions of dollars—the end of the \$500 hammer and the \$50 ashtray—a Democratic initiative, not a Republican initiative? I think that is normal, and we should be for it.

This State is supposed to be probusiness. You ask any business person that's dealt with the Federal Government over the last 20 years, and they will tell you that this administration has done more to help people sell their goods and services all around the world, done more to expand trade, done more to create jobs, done more to revitalize manufacturing, done more to help defense conversion than any administration in recent history. That's why we have 4.6 million new jobs. I don't think that's abnormal; I think that is normal and good and right for America.

Let me ask you this: If Chuck Robb were a Republican—now, listen. No, don't boo; think. *[Laughter]* Remember, you've got to leave here and reach somebody that's not for him yet. Now, listen to this: If Chuck Robb were a Republican and he had voted to shrink the Federal Government to its smallest size since Kennedy, to get rid of the \$500 hammers and the \$50 ashtrays, to reduce the Federal deficit to its smallest size in a long time and to do it 3 years in a row for the first time since Truman, to support economic policies that created 4.6 million new jobs, to pass a crime bill that had the toughest penalties in the history of the United States, the Republicans in Virginia would be erecting a statue to him tonight.

So what is their beef? Why are we too liberal? Because we have more minorities on the Federal bench and in the Cabinet, more women on the Federal bench and in the Cabinet? Because we have—look at the world. Is it abnormal that for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age Russian missiles are no longer pointing at American children at night? I think that is normal, not abnormal. Is it abnormal that we have worked so hard to get North Korea to now commit to be inspected, to say we're going to freeze our nuclear program, we're going to give it up, here's one thing our kids won't have to worry

about if we implement the agreement that was signed today? I think that is normal and good and wholesome, and I think we ought to be supporting it. Were we abnormal by proving that Mr. North was wrong and the American military could, yes, lickety-split, get into the Gulf and stand up to Saddam Hussein and stop aggression again? I don't think so.

What is going on? I'll tell you what's going on. I am a Southerner. I love this part of the country. I love my roots. I love my family. I can take you into every county in my State and to every country crossroads and show you something that I know personally. I like to hunt ducks in duck season, in spite of what the NRA thinks. [Laughter] I like to ride horses and go to rodeos. I like country music. I am a Southerner. But I know one thing. You look at our past, the past that Doug Wilder had to overcome. How have we lived through these contradictions all this time? Sometimes we were like Thomas Jefferson, we faced the truth and we moved forward. Sometimes we had to go into a shell because we couldn't live with the challenges of the moment. And the way we did it was by finding somebody to demonize. And a lot of the time, before it became unfashionable, we demonized black people. Now, we elect them Governor.

What are we demonizing? We're demonizing liberals. Never mind if it doesn't fit. Never mind if the facts aren't right. The people are upset; they are exercised. They're anxiety-ridden; they're cynical and skeptical about the Government. So spend \$17 million and tell it to them anyway. If it's not true, who cares? That is what is going on, isn't it?

Audience members. Yes.

The President. That is what is going on. They say they are strong and we are weak. They say they are for conservative principles and we are liberal. But we reduced the Government. We reduced the deficit. We made your money go further. We stuck up for ordinary working people. We began to grow this economy again and to bring this country together again.

Now what they want to do is to put in this contract—oh, but it sounds so sweet. In all the crossroads where they think we are

not normal, they say, "Here is what is normal: I'll give everybody a tax cut. I will raise defense spending. I will bring back Star Wars. And I will balance the budget. But it costs a trillion dollars." How will you pay for it? "I'll tell you about that after the election." [Laughter] You know how they'll pay for it, don't you? The same way they paid for it before. We will explode the deficit and put it right on our kids and lower their standard of living. We will cut Medicare. We will cut veterans benefits. We will never fund the police in this crime bill. We will start shipping jobs overseas again. We will put this economy in the ditch. But they won't care. They'll have the election.

You know, it's 17 days until the election. Chuck Robb's in a tough fight. I'd love to be able to stand up here with him here and make you a trillion dollars worth of promises. If I could write you a trillion dollars worth of hot checks, I could show everybody in this room a good time. [Laughter] But it is not the responsible thing to do. It is wrong, and you know it's wrong. It is wrong to treat voters like they are children and make them promises that will undermine their own lives and the future of their children. That is not right just because it sounds good. And it is wrong to say that your opponents are not normal Americans just because they've done things you wish you'd done when you had the chance and you can't think of any way to get around it. [Laughter]

Now, I'm going to tell you what I really think is going to happen in this election. What I really think is going to happen is that sometime in the next 17 days the psychological balance inside the heart and spirit of the people of Virginia will be set, either by the spirit we come here to honor tonight that animated the lives and the sacrifice of the lives of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, or by that old, dark spirit that often grabs us in the history of those of us who are Southerners, where we are compelled to identify ourselves against someone else, to see other people as our enemies, aliens, not normal.

Folks, that's what this is all about. And what you have to do is not just shout here. We've all got our good lines against Oliver North. And I do think it's more important—

more important that he doesn't consider me his commander in chief was that he didn't act like President Reagan was his commander in chief. That is more important.

But what is really at stake in this election is what is in the heart of the people of Virginia. Are we going to go forward? Are we going to go back to trickle-down economics of the eighties? Are we going to empower people and challenge them to assume responsibility, or are we going to make them a bunch of cheap promises in a power grab? Are we going to bring out the best in each other, or are we going to keep right on dividing people and letting them vote their fears? That is what is at issue.

This is a period of profound historic change for America. You cannot blame people for being upset and angry and confused. And frankly, it's hard for them to get the facts about what's going on half the time.

And what you have to do in the next 17 days is not so much to bash your adversaries, although, goodness knows, you need to answer them back. You need to turn the light on in Virginia and let the light shine. And let people feel the future flowing through their veins, in their hearts, in their minds, and their spirits.

If you will give the people of Virginia the vision of the future that is symbolized by the lives of the people we come here to honor tonight, Chuck Robb will win, Jim Moran will win, Leslie Byrne will win. But that's not what's really important: the Commonwealth of Virginia will win.

Go do it. Don't leave a stone unturned. Don't leave a person untouched.

God bless you, and goodnight.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. at the Radisson Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Yasser Arafat, Chairman, Palestine Liberation Organization; Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel; Margo Horner, chair of the 8th congressional district, Democratic National Committee; Mame Reily, chief of staff and campaign manager for Congressman Jim Moran; Mark Warner, chairman, Virginia Democratic Party, and Lieutenant Governor of Virginia Don Beyer. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Memorandum on World AIDS Day, 1994

October 21, 1994

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: World AIDS Day, 1994

As you know, December 1, 1994, is World AIDS Day—a day set aside for our Nation and for the world to reflect on the scope of the HIV pandemic, to honor those we have lost, and to renew our commitment to fight this disease on all fronts.

It is my hope that all departments and agencies once again will plan significant activities to recognize World AIDS Day, as so many did last year. I was touched by the outstanding programs many of your agencies presented for employees, and I appreciated the acts of personal service a number of you performed for people living with HIV and AIDS. These activities exemplify what we have worked to make hallmarks of this Administration: leadership by example and putting people first.

The theme of World AIDS Day, 1994, "AIDS and Families: Protect and Care for the Ones We Love," recognizes that HIV is a challenge to families, not just individuals. Family members must work together to protect their loved ones from becoming infected. And all family members share responsibility for those who have become ill.

In order to begin planning for December 1, I request that each agency head designate an appropriate individual to plan and coordinate World AIDS Day, 1994, activities for the agency. Please inform the White House Office of the National AIDS policy coordinator by November 1 of the individual you have selected who will act as the coordinator for your agency's activities, and keep the office informed of the activities you plan for that day. The Office also will sponsor a meeting of coordinators from all the agencies and will inform your World AIDS Day coordinator of the time and place.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address
October 22, 1994

Good morning. As the autumn leaves begin to reach the height of their color, students all across our country are hard at work preparing for math tests and spelling bees, history papers and midterm exams. Their knowledge and skills are being tested. Their report cards will be a measure of their success.

Well, just like those students, America is also being tested. We're facing difficult questions about how we should guide our children in today's world and whether we'll prepare them for the challenges they'll meet. It's not an easy test, perhaps one of the most difficult we have ever undertaken. But the right answers are before us, and our children will be the measure of our success. We've found a number of right answers already. Our national report card shows some exciting progress.

When I became President, I knew the only way we could continue to lead the world would be if we developed the learning capacities of as many of our citizens as possible. That's why the progress we've made on our lifelong learning agenda is so vital to the long-term strength of the United States.

In all our education proposals, we've tried to make a fundamental change in the way the Federal Government helps students to meet their goals. Instead of prescribing detailed rules and regulations that schools have to follow, as the Federal Government has done in the past, we've tried to show that it's the responsibility of individual teachers and students and communities, with the help of our National Government, to work hard to make good lives for themselves.

In everything from an expanded Head Start program to new youth apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college, we've worked to build on those principles. In our Goals 2000 law, which I signed last spring, we set tough world-class standards in the basic subjects for students and schools, but we made it clear that students and teachers at the school level have to decide how to meet those standards. We made it clear that we have to keep guns and drugs out of our schools, that we have to encourage our

parents to stay involved with our children's education.

Now this past week, I had the opportunity to sign into law the elementary and secondary education act. That bill says that, while the National Government will set the standards and help to develop the measurements of whether schools are meeting them, it is fundamentally the responsibility of people at the grassroots to make sure those standards are met. We are encouraging what we know is the true magic of education, that which occurs between teacher and student, with the help of parents and principals and communities.

This new law does another thing. It supports programs that teach our young people that character does count, that helps them to learn the difference between right and wrong, based on standards developed in our local communities.

We also have to work to make sure more Americans have the higher education they need to compete and win in the global economy. One of the biggest obstacles has been soaring college costs and an inadequate national system of college loans. We've started two new programs to help fix those problems. Our national service program, AmeriCorps, is already giving 20,000 people the chance to serve their country and earn money for higher education. Within 3 years, 100,000 people will be participating in this domestic Peace Corps. To give you some idea of how many that is, the largest number of young people who ever participated in the Peace Corps in a single year was 16,000.

Over and above the national service program, this week I announced that Americans will be able to open what we call individual education accounts. We already have individual retirement accounts that help people direct the growth of their own retirement benefits, and now all Americans will be able to have individual education accounts, so that they can pay back college loans over time in ways that meet their own needs and the requirements of their own working lives. This program will save the Government money, reduce defaults, lower fees for everyone. With these reforms, we're helping to make sure that America can embrace the chal-

allenges we face in the world economy as we look to the next century.

But you should know that there are those who would take us in a very different direction, back to the policies of the past which have failed. Our political opponents have signed what they call a contract that tells us what they would do if they control Congress. They'd give a \$200 billion tax cut to the wealthiest Americans. They would explode the deficit. That would mean cutting many of the education reforms we've worked so hard to pass, along with Medicare and other programs. Our opponents have even made a specific proposal to cut college aid for 3 million American student borrowers each year to pay for their trillion dollar package of promises in tax cuts, defense spending increases, revitalization of Star Wars, and an allegation that they can balance the budget. Well, we tried that before, and it didn't work out very well.

My contract with America is for our future and for the future of our children. I don't want us to go back. To guarantee that we keep moving forward, we have to be willing to meet the tests of our time, to keep doing everything we can for young Americans who are looking to us for help in meeting the world's demands. We can't give in to easy promises. We have to embrace the challenges of the future. And if we do, we'll be rewarded. The world places many demands on us, but I'm sure you believe, as I do, that that's a test we can pass with flying colors.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:55 p.m. on October 21 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 22.

Remarks to the Students at Carlmont High School in Belmont, California *October 22, 1994*

It's nice to be back in California. It's nice to be here in Belmont. It's nice to be here at Carlmont High School. I'm honored to be the first President to come here. And it's only fair that I came here to see your principal, since he didn't get to come and see me. Now that should not be interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction with the lady who got to be

principal of the year, but he would have made an awful good one. [Laughter] And he sounds to me like the principal of the year here.

I want to say how very honored I am to be here with all of you. I thank Mayor Rianda for her welcome, Mayor Davids for what he said. I thank them for their leadership and their devotion to public service at the grass-roots level, where so many of our problems and challenges have to be met. I thank Congressman Lantos and Congresswoman Eshoo for not only being my friends but for their extraordinary service in Washington. I can tell you that there is this popular feeling, I think, that nearly everybody who goes off to Washington has something bad happen to them and forgets about the folks back home; they do not. And they represent you well, and you should be very proud of them. I'm also very pleased to be joined today by your State treasurer, Kathleen Brown, and your State insurance commissioner, John Garamendi. Thank you, John. I'd like to introduce one other person, too, who is my partner in these education endeavors, a former colleague of mine and former Governor of Vermont and now the Deputy Secretary of Education, come all the way from Washington with me today, Governor Madeleine Kunin. Please make her feel welcome. I want to say a little more about Senator Feinstein in a moment, in connection with this work, but I appreciate what she said today.

But let me begin by saying that, as all of you know, I had the opportunity to spend a great deal of time in this magnificent State of yours a couple of years ago. And since I have been President, I think I've been back here a dozen times. I've worked on the emergencies for California, like the earthquake and the fires. I've worked on trying to get the economy of this State going again, to sell computers overseas, to sell the farmers' rice to Japan for the first time, to start the ship building industry in the southern part of the State, to help the defense conversion momentum really get going here so we could build a lot of jobs out of this defense downsizing and not just lose them. I've tried to do things that would help you deal with the crime and the immigration problems,

real, concrete steps, not just talk about it. Ten thousand more police officers will come to California under the crime bill. We have doubled the number of immigration officers along the southern border of the State. We've begun to have a real impact in dealing with the problem of illegal immigration.

But what I want to say to you is that over the long run, if we are going to have a bright future for the people of the United States, and if California is going to work—and it can work, you look around at the students here, look at all the different ways they found to say welcome to me up there—if this country is going to work, and this State is going to work, then schools like this school have to work all across America. We have to prove that there is strength, not weakness, in our diversity. We have to prove that all children can learn. And we have to prove that with all the changes that we're going through in America today, we can still give our kids an old-fashioned, safe upbringing and a good education, because that is the key to the future of the global economy.

One of the least known stories, perhaps, of the recent concluded session of Congress is that it was the best session for education in at least three decades. [*Applause*] That's worth clapping for. I appreciate that. This Congress expanded the Head Start program, making more children eligible and making younger children eligible. This Congress passed the Goals 2000 bill, writing into national law our national education goals, world class standards, and saying that we would help to develop means of measuring whether we're meeting those standards but emphasizing that education reform has to come from the grassroots, school by school.

Just a couple of days ago I signed the elementary and secondary education act, which dramatically reduces the Federal regulations telling schools how to spend the money we give them to help kids who need extra help in schools and encourages schools to do things that will actually prove that children can learn without regard to their racial or economic background. The bill also, as Senator Feinstein said, helps to support the safe schools initiative and promotes the concept of character education when basic civic val-

ues to be taught in the schools are developed at the community level.

We also passed a bill for young people who don't go to college but do want to get good education, an apprenticeship bill to help every State in the country develop a system to guarantee that even those who don't go to college will have a chance to get some further education and training and get a good job with a prospect of a growing income.

Finally, and perhaps most important, we dramatically reorganized the system by which the National Government makes colleges loans available, not only to low income but also to middle class young people.

One of the things that's always bothered me in the last couple of years is seeing the cost of a college education go up faster than any other essential part of a family's budget, even more rapidly than health care costs. In my own State, I saw young people start college and then drop out because they either couldn't get loans or they were convinced they would never be able to repay them. Then I saw young people get out of college with big debt and take jobs that paid higher wages, not because they wanted them but because they were afraid they couldn't afford to do something they really wanted to do, like work with people in the community to help kids get a better start or be school teachers or police officers or do other things, because they were afraid they could never repay their college loans.

Under this system, you won't have to worry about that anymore when you become of age and you get out of high school. You'll be able to choose to borrow money and pay it back over a longer period of time at a lower interest rate as a percentage of your income so that if you choose to serve the public and you choose not to get rich, you at least won't be driven into the poor house by the cost of your college education.

The last thing the Congress did was to pass a program that's already being felt here in California, the national service program, AmeriCorps, to give young people the chance to serve their communities and earn money for their college education. This year, 20,000 young Americans are doing it; year after next 100,000 young Americans are doing it. If the Congress will continue to sup-

port it, I am convinced we can have as many as a half a million young Americans paying their way to college by solving the problems of this country one on one, person by person at the grassroots level all across America. And I thank the Congress for that record of education reform.

Now, having said that, let me come to the point. Education still does not occur in Washington. Education occurs school by school, class by class, student by student. The magic of education is in what happens between the teachers and the students, what the role of the principal is, whether the parents are supportive at home, what is going on inside the student. None of that can happen in an atmosphere of fear.

We all know stories, horrible stories of children being shot or cut or terrorized. When I was in California last year, I did a town meeting and a young man from northern California told me that he and his brother changed schools because they thought the school they were in was so dangerous. And then when they lined up to register in the new school they thought was safer, somebody just came in the school door and shot his brother, standing right there in line to register. He just happened to be in the wrong place.

You would not believe the letters I get from children of all ages begging me to do something about the violence that terrorizes their lives. You may have seen me read a letter that I got from a young man from New Orleans, when the crime bill was being debated, who said, "I know you can do something about crime, and I am frightened." That young man was shot a couple of weeks after he wrote a letter to me.

I got a letter after the crime bill was signed from the son of a friend of mine in my administration who said, "I have a nice family. We have a high income. We live in a good neighborhood. I go to a good school. My friends and I are still scared every time I go downtown to the movies. I feel better now that the crime bill has been signed."

We cannot operate in a country where children are afraid and cannot feel, much less think. You cannot learn in that kind of atmosphere. That is why, as the principal said, we're trying to be tough and firm and strong

in some of these critical areas. That's why we had to pass the Brady bill. That's why we had to pass the crime bill. That's why we adopted Senator Feinstein's amendment to ban assault weapons on the streets of our cities. And that's why we come here today to sign this Executive order. I know here in this high school you already have a zero tolerance policy for guns, and I applaud you for it. I applaud your principal, and I applaud the students who support it. Now students all over the country, their parents, their teachers, their principals, will be required to meet the challenge that you have met, to follow your example. Students have to take the lead, to take responsibility for this. We can do better, and we must.

"Zero tolerance" is a common sense policy. Why does anybody need to have a gun in school? That's why this order directs the Secretary of Education to withhold funding the States that don't comply with the law. Young people simply should not have to live in fear of young criminals who carry guns to schools.

And again I will say, just like the assault weapons, this bill is in the Federal law because Senator Feinstein sponsored it and demanded it, and we got it thanks to her efforts and those of Senator Dorgan, and I thank them both.

Now, as I sign this order, just before I do, I want you to think about it, all of you students here. What are you going to do? What are you personally going to do about what's going on? That's really what counts. We can have this rule and fewer people will bring guns to schools. We also need fewer guns on our streets. One of the things in the crime bill is the banning of juvenile possession of handguns unless the juvenile is under the supervision of an adult. We are doing all we can to pass laws. But in the end your future will be decided by what is inside you, what you decide to do.

I think all Americans have been very moved, I know I certainly have, by the signs of the Haitian people getting their freedom back and President Aristide going back, to bring democracy back to Haiti. You know, one of his biggest challenges after all the violence that those people have suffered is to make sure that his own supporters now do not resort to violence to retaliate. Why is vio-

lence going up so much among young people in our country? Violence begets violence, begets violence, begets violence. It has to end somewhere.

And if you watched President Aristide back in Haiti, perhaps the most gripping thing was when he stood there having had many of his friends killed, having had children that he tried to help, terrorized, standing there saying to the masses of his people: "No to violence, no to retribution. Yes to peace; yes to reconciliation." And if they are saying that inside their heart, that will do more than any law.

So I say to you, as your principal said, we've done some tough things to try to give you a bright future. And we're not ashamed of them; we're proud of them. If we can think of other things to do, we will do them as well. But in the end what you say inside is even more important. You must say no to guns, no to gangs, no to drugs; yes to education, yes to hope, yes to your own future.

The 21st century can be the best time this country and this State ever knew because of all of you, because of our diversity, because in a global society we will be the great global nation, because everybody can be an American. You don't have to be of a certain race or ethnic background or religious conviction. You just have to come here and share our land and share our values and make the most of your own life. That is what you have to do.

But in the end you will have to do it. So I say to you, I'm proud to sign this order to give you the chance to say yes to your future. And I hope and pray you will do it.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:11 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Carlmont High School principal Michael Johnson, Mayor Pam Rianda of Belmont, CA, and Mayor Tom Davids of San Carlos, CA. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks. The memorandum on implementation of safe schools legislation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 25.

Statement on Safe Schools Legislation

October 22, 1994

The single most important thing we can do to improve education for everybody in this country is to make schools safe. Violence against young people is a terrible national problem.

Every other day, enough young people to fill a classroom are killed with guns. In California alone, two children are killed with guns every single day. We have got to put an end to this madness. And the first thing we need to do is to get those guns out of the hands of young people where they don't belong.

The crime law makes it a Federal crime for a minor to carry a handgun except when supervised by an adult. Goals 2000 set a national standard for school safety and requires school districts to take the measures necessary to reach that standard.

The elementary and secondary education act (ESEA) takes it a step further by making it clear that we simply cannot tolerate guns in our schools, and anyone who brings a gun to school just doesn't belong there.

ESEA requires that States adopt a simple law: If somebody brings a gun to school, they'll be expelled for one year.

This is common sense: There should be zero tolerance for guns in school. That's why I am directing the Secretary of Education to withhold funding to States that do not comply with this law.

It's really very simple: Young students should not have to live in fear of young criminals who carry guns instead of books.

Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Kathleen Brown in San Francisco, California

October 22, 1994

The President. Thank you so much. I'm just curious, can you hear me in the back of the room? *[Applause]* Good.

I was listening to Kathleen give that speech——

Audience members: Louder, louder.

The President. I know, there's something wrong with the sound system, isn't there. Can someone turn the sound up? There's something wrong with it.

Well, I'm sorry, you'll just have to listen. [Laughter]

I was thinking when Kathleen was speaking that I was glad that she didn't run against me in 1992. And then I was thinking when she was speaking, we will now know what happened when Mrs. Wilson gets a lot of write-in votes from Modesto on election day.

You know, I really looked forward to this, to coming out to California and giving you a progress report, talking about what this election is all about. I care a lot about this Governor's race. I used to be a Governor. In some ways it was the best job I ever had. At least I had an easier time defending myself. [Laughter] The truth is, I wouldn't trade this for anything.

But if you will bear with me, even in this festive atmosphere, I want to talk tonight pretty seriously to you about what is at stake in these national elections, including Senator Feinstein's race and the congressional races, and then why what is at stake here in California is just like that and why even though it's a different issue and a different race what is underlying the contest is the same and why you have to make the same decision. And I want to do it because, after all, for the next 2 weeks and some odd days, you need to spend more time talking to the people who aren't in this room than the people who are if you want to make a difference in this election.

When I was elected President, thanks in no small measure to the overwhelming support of the people of the State of California, I went to Washington determined to do everything I could to rebuild the American dream and to bring the American people together, to make sure that we move into the next century able to compete and win, to make sure that our children are not the first generation to do worse than their parents, to make sure that all this incredible diversity we have in America was the engine of our strength and unity, not the instrument of our undoing. That is why I wanted to be President. And I went there hoping, because I

was determined to take our Democratic Party in a different direction, that the Republicans would at least meet me halfway or, would you believe, 5 percent? [Laughter]

Well, we've been there 21 months. And here are the facts: We have made a real start in making the Government work for ordinary Americans, in bringing the economy back, and making the world more peaceful and more secure for Americans to live and to grow and to flourish in. And in this election we do not pretend that there is nothing left to be done. We ask only that the American people look at what has been done, look at what our opponents have done, look at what they offer for the future. We ask them not to go back to the dark days of trickle-down economics and divisive social policy but to go forward into the 21st century with confidence.

I got tickled, the Republican House leader, Mr. Gingrich, in a rare moment of candor the other day said that his whole—that their whole mission in life, all of them, the Republicans in Washington, the leaders, was to make sure Americans thought I was the enemy of normal people. Well, you know, the truth is he's done a pretty good job of that in some place or two. [Laughter] I thought to myself, now, what does that mean? I understand it partly because I grew up in the South like a lot of you who are immigrants to California from that part of America. And I mean, I was raised on that kind of politics. If you couldn't think of anything to be for and you wanted to get in, just demonize your opponent. And if people are mad and angry and upset about something else, maybe they could just transfer all that onto the election. And just like a kid in a snit on a playground, if you make a decision when you're mad, normally you don't know what you're doing. So you run the risk of being for that which you're against and being against that what you're really for.

Now, that's the risk in the California Governor's race, that's the risk in the California Senate race, and that's the risk in these Congress races all over the country. If you can get people all mad and then transfer their anger and frustration to somebody with a "D" beside their name and make them the

enemy, then you wind up doing that which you would not do if you were thinking.

It reminds me—you know, one of the primary jobs of any parent is to try to raise their children not to make important decisions when they're just stomped-down furious. And in my part of the country—you know, I was born in a little town in south Arkansas about 20 miles from the Louisiana border. And I don't know how many of you have ever been down there, but there are a lot of Cajuns in Louisiana who literally came from Acadia before and populated the State. And they developed a special way of speaking and even a sort of a hybrid language and an incredible body of humor. And when I was a young man I used to make a habit of collecting these Cajun jokes. But I remember one which illustrates what we are in danger of seeing happening in this election if we don't turn it around and get people to thinking and not just feeling anger. A story about these two Cajun fellows named Renee and Jacques. And Jacques walks down the street, and he meets his friend, Jean. And Jean says, "Jacques, I always see in your pocket your \$5 cigars. And they ain't there today. Why ain't they there anymore?" And he said, "You know, that no-good Renee, every time he sees me, he says, 'Hey, Jacques, how you doing?' He hits me in the pocket. He ruins my \$5 cigars." He said, "Yes, I understand that, but how come you replace the cigars with dynamite?" He said, "Don't you know the next time he does that, you'll get killed?" He said, "Yeah, I know that, but I'll blow his hand off, too." [*Laughter*] You think about that. That's what's going on here. That's what's going on here.

We have made a beginning for a change in having the National Government honor work and family. That's what the family leave law was all about, so people could take a little time off when their kids were born or their parents were sick, without losing their jobs; in immunizing 2 million children under the age of 2 by 1996; in expanding Head Start; in giving 19 States permission to try their own plans to move people from welfare to work with dignity; in giving tax cuts to 15 million working families with children, so nobody who works full-time will raise their chil-

dren in poverty. I think that's a pretty good beginning.

We've made a major, major start in developing a system of lifetime learning and training so people don't stay unemployed for a long time and so young people can live in a world where they may have to change work seven times in a lifetime.

We signed just a couple of days ago the new elementary and secondary education act, which cuts off—there are some educators here. You know why the educators are clapping? Because this act recognizes that all the real magic in education occurs in the classroom. And instead of having the Federal Government send a check to California with a string on it 3,000 miles long, accompanied by a gazillion rules, this act says, here are the standards you must meet, here are the people you must help, here is the money; you figure out how to do it and be accountable for it. We're going to empower you to educate our children.

In our budget we changed the system of student loans to save \$4.3 billion tax money, to cut student fees by \$2 billion to enable 20 million Americans over the next couple of years to have lower interest, longer repayment options on their student loans so everybody can borrow the money to go to college who needs it, in this country. And I think that's a pretty good beginning. And I don't think it's bad for normal Americans.

We passed the crime bill and the Brady bill, and they tried to stop us. The Republicans cussed the Government for years. You know, that used to be how they made their bread and butter. Before immigration and crime there was how bad the Government was. But they never shrunk it because all their crowd wanted those jobs in Washington, so also they knew if they ever made it smaller they wouldn't have anybody to kick around anymore.

So we made it smaller, the Democrats. We reduced the size of the Federal Government, already more than 70,000 fewer people working in Washington bureaucracies than when I became President. And when our plan goes through it will be the smallest Government since John Kennedy was President of the United States.

And here's the really important thing: What did we do with the money? We gave it to you to fight crime. It's going to California; it's going to New York; it's going to Texas; it's going to Montana. It's going back to the grassroots of America to hire those police officers, to have those prevention programs, to build those prison cells, to give the American people a chance to be safer on their streets. That's what we did with the money. I think it was a pretty good swap. I wish they'd helped us do it.

Now when we lowered the Federal deficit 3 years in a row for the first time since Truman and exploded opportunities for trade and exports for California and a lot of other places and increased our investment in education and training and provided for increased incentives for people to put free enterprise into isolated urban and rural areas, 4.6 million new jobs—in 1994 we've had more high-wage jobs come into this American economy than in the previous 5 years combined. Is California slower than the rest of the country at coming back? Yes. Why? Well, you had the earthquake, and you had 21 percent of America's defense budget. So it's taking a little longer. But your unemployment is one percentage point lower than it was when I became President. And I'll say a little more about the things we've done to try to make sure that 1995 and 1996 are even better years for California. The point is not that we have done everything that needs to be done, but we are plainly moving in the right direction and the country is better off than it was 21 months ago.

Now we did it in a different way, too. I don't think this was abnormal. I have more than twice as many women and more than twice as many minorities in my Cabinet as ever served any other President. I didn't think that was abnormal. At this point in our Presidency, we've appointed more than twice as many women, more than twice as many African-Americans, and 3 times as many Hispanics as well as more Asians to the court than all the three previous Presidents combined at this point in their Presidency. But since our judicial appointees have a higher percentage of them rated well-qualified by the Bar Association, I don't see what's so abnormal about that. Why shouldn't the bench

look like America? Why shouldn't the administration look like America?

And let me ask you this. Is the fact that Russian missiles are not pointed at your children for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age an abnormal thing? I think that's pretty good. I think it's a good thing for America that we reached agreement with China not to export missiles that are dangerous. I think it's a good thing that we're making progress there. I think it's a good thing that we are contributing to peace in the Middle East and we helped the South Africans with their elections and we're contributing to peace in Northern Ireland. I think it's a good thing. I think it's a good thing that we did not let Saddam Hussein again, become an aggressor. And a good thing—I think it's a good thing that President Aristide went home to Haiti.

Do we still have problems in this country and in this world? You bet we do. But we are moving in the right direction. The last thing in the wide world we need to do because there are people who have not yet gotten a raise or people who still feel insecure in their jobs because another one million Americans lost their health insurance last year and they're all in working families.

Audience member. What about 186?

The President. Because of all these things, there are problems. So what's the answer? Turn around and go back where we came from? I don't think so. Give it to the people that haven't tried to solve the problems? I don't think so.

Audience member. Help us out on 186.

The President. You, look——

Audience member. Help us out on 186.

The President. Do you want to give this speech?

Audience member. No, but I——

The President. Do you know the first thing about manners?

Audience member. We need your help.

The President. Let me tell you something, I made a statement about it yesterday and if you will just be quiet, I'll talk some more. But I cannot talk if you're going to talk.

I tried to solve the health care problem in a way that I thought was right. If the peo-

ple want to solve it in California, you can do it. [Applause] Thank you.

Now, what's all that got to do with this election? You think about it. What did they do? I want you to know what they did, because it's just like what the Governor is doing here. If you like the fact that we passed family leave and the Brady bill and the crime bill and the college loans, their leadership fought against every one of them, and now they're coming back to people and saying, we ought to do something about crime and all the other problems in America.

They had their chance, and they were against them all. At the end of the legislative session, they blocked campaign finance reform, they blocked lobby reform, they killed the Superfund bill. You know, the Superfund bill cleans up toxic dumps. In the Superfund bill we had chemical companies, labor unions, and the Sierra Club wanting to pass it. I never saw those folks for the same thing in my life. I never thought they would be for anything. Do you know who was against the Superfund bill? Slightly more than 40 Republican Senators. That's it. And do you know why? Because they would rather have left the poison in the ground than let Diane Feinstein come home to California and say, "I helped to clean it up." That's the truth. That is the truth.

And now they've got this contract. I want you to see if you can remember if you've ever heard this before. Here is their deal—you heard Senator Boxer's litany here: Let that crowd run the Senate and make Mr. Gingrich the Speaker, and here is what we'll do for you—this is great, this sounds great—here's what we'll do: We'll give everybody a tax cut. And if you're rich we'll give you a huge tax cut. And we will revitalize Star Wars, and we will increase defense spending and we will balance the budget. Does that sound familiar? And what happened the last time we did that? We exploded the deficit, we faced cuts in Medicare, veterans benefits, everything else. We ran the economy into the ditch and sent our jobs overseas. And it'll happen again. You have to say, "no, no, no, no, no, no."

Audience members. No, no, no, no, no.

The President. I think—the cynicism of these people, it's unbelievable. It's unbelievable.

I've got to tell you about one more filibuster. They tried to filibuster the California desert bill. They almost got that done, and finally, there were some Republican Senators who cared enough about the environment and were so overcome with embarrassment at what the rest of them were doing that they bailed out and broke the filibuster. But it was weird. We had a guy from Wyoming leading a filibuster against the California desert bill so he could help that guy from Texas buy the California Senate seat. [Laughter] I mean, it was amazing. That's what was going on. That's what goes on up there. You've got to say no to that.

Now, what does that have to do with this race? Kathleen and I were talking about it the other day. Listen to this. Five million Americans who live in California benefit from the family leave bill; 1,650,000 Americans who live in California will be eligible for lower interest college loans. The crime bill will bring another \$900 million to California for 10,200 police officers, among other things. Over 2 million California families got tax cuts. And they fought it all.

Now, if you look at what's happened in California since I became President—I didn't come out here and point the finger at Governor Wilson. I just sort of said, "These folks are in trouble, and I ought to help." The first thing we did was to take off all the controls on a lot of high tech exports so we could sell more. And California benefited more than any other State from that.

And then we started a program that the previous administration had literally refused to start, to help places where bases had closed or where companies had lost defense contracts to do defense conversion. And California has gotten more than one-third of all the defense conversion money given out by the Federal Government in the last 2 years to help rebuild this economy for the 21st century.

When the earthquake came along you wound up with \$11 billion. And unlike the last earthquake in northern California, this time the Government paid for 90 percent of it from Washington, not 75 percent, because

we knew that you needed the help. And we did it in record time.

They talk about immigration. What have we done? We are cutting spending overall, and yet we increased funding to help the States deal with immigration costs by a third. We doubled the border guards along San Diego's border. We have for the first time paid for some of the criminal justice costs. And we have paid to ship some people who have been convicted of crimes out of the country. And your Governor calls my effort pathetic? He made the problem happen when he was in the Senate. And when he came back here and he had his President in Washington, he never issued a peep for more money or a peep of blame or responsibility. Never.

And when I took office I knew this was a problem. I didn't care if you had a Republican Governor. You could have had somebody in the "purple party" for all I cared. You had a problem. And I have tried to help you solve it. The Attorney General has been to southern California. We have also started dealing with the sewage problems down there. We have done a lot of other things. We never sought to place any blame on anybody else. We were just trying to help. That's what Governors should be doing, building people's lives, building the economy, building people's future. That's the kind of partner I would like to have in Sacramento so we could do even more things.

Now, you think about that. You think about that. What else has happened since our administration came in? Well, we're selling California rice to Japan for the first time in history. We got enough ship building contracts to NASCO at San Diego to save 4,000 jobs, and the Livermore labs just got a \$2 billion research contract to help to build a high tech future here.

I never thought of trying to blame somebody else. I just knew you needed help and you had great resources and it was time to start moving forward. And that's the kind of Governor you need.

I want to say one thing about this immigration proposition. You know, I also came out against it yesterday. But I want to make two points about it. And I want—again, remember, you've got to spend the rest of this elec-

tion talking to people outside this room. I want to make two points about it. Number one, I have really tried to help you with this problem. And we are making a difference. But why should we punish the kids because we're not smart enough to figure out how to stop their parents for coming here looking for work? And what does it do, really, for your treasury if kids are out of school so they'll be free to get in trouble? What does it do if kids can't go to the clinic so they'll be free to communicate diseases and other problems to other people? I don't know that you're going to save a split nickel on this deal.

Now, let's solve the problem. We already deny welfare benefits to immigrants who are not here legally. There is a problem in the work place; there is a problem in enforcement. Let us go after it in a responsible way. It is a legitimate problem. When people don't have jobs themselves, they don't want someone else having a job who didn't even wait in line like all the other immigrants do every year to come here in a legal fashion. There is a problem. But this problem was largely created by politicians in previous years who wanted this to happen. And a lot of them are now trying to benefit from the very situation they created, and that is wrong. That is wrong.

Now, let me say something else. If you've got a bunch of friends who are going to vote for that anyway, you ought to still talk them into voting for Kathleen Brown. And here is the argument you ought to use. Why in the wide world would you vote for Pete Wilson because he says he's for that if you are? Why would you waste two votes on that proposition when one will do just as well? [Laughter] Now, listen to this. What is the argument against Governor Wilson? What is Kathleen Brown's argument? That she represents vision and energy and ideas and she has a plan for the future. Not that the last 4 years would not have been challenging, no matter who had been Governor. There was defense cuts coming; there was a recession in the economy. What is the charge? Not that there were tough times but that the response was inadequate. It didn't reflect energy and compassion and leadership and planning.

Now, if this election turns on an issue that will be over on the morning of November

9th, you will be giving another 4 year contract, this time with an explicit permission to lift not one finger to solve the real problems of California or to help build its future. That would be a mistake. That would be a mistake.

So tell your friends, "Look, I'm not for this thing. I wish I could talk you of it. But if I can't, don't shoot yourself in the foot and vote twice when once will do." [Laughter] If you make a mistake on this you're going to need a Governor even more than I do. You need a good Governor. Go do it right. And every time you worry about it and you get frustrated, you think about the story I told you about the guy that swapped cigars for dynamite. It happens all the time.

Now, let me close by just saying this. Let me tell you what I really think will turn this election. I think it depends what frame of mind the people are in when they wake up on election day. This is an old-fashioned election, right? Hope versus fear, the future versus the past, plan versus a wedge. That's what this is about. And you cannot blame people for being exorcised and frustrated and angry. Most people in California have not felt the benefits of the recovery, in spite of the fact that we have put billions in here, every last thing I could think of to do. A lot of people have not felt it in their lives. They still feel uncertain and insecure.

We have social problems in this country: the crime, the gangs, the drugs, the guns. This stuff has been building up for 30 years. Most hourly wage earners have had stagnant wages in America for 20 years. California has been through this trauma. These problems have been with us. And for 12 years we had this trickle-down economics approach and this divide-them-and-conquer social policy approach, which I have had 21 months to work on. Now we're making a good start, but we have a ways to go before people can feel it inside.

So you have got to leave this room and do two things. One is, if you can give her some more money so she doesn't get blown away on television, you ought to do it. And the second thing is to go out and talk to people about what this election is really all about and get them to unload all their frustration and their anger and try to get them to relax.

And get them into a conversation, get them into a dialog.

What I really think you ought to do is go out there and try to turn the lights on in California. If the lights are on, if people are up, if they're looking to the future they will vote for Kathleen Brown because she's got a plan; she's got energy; she symbolizes the future. Turn the lights on. Turn the lights on. Turn the lights on.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:53 p.m. at the Fairmont Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Rally for Democratic Candidates in Seattle, Washington

October 23, 1994

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you.

Audience member. Give them hell!

The President. You're going to help, aren't you?

Thank you, Governor Lowry, for your friendship and your support and your leadership here. Thank you for all the things you said. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for making me feel so very welcome today.

I hope all the folks who have joined us here who will tell the rest of the world about what we did, took notice of Larry Brown from Boeing and Sergeant John Manning and Mikelle Mathers. You see, they represent the real Washington and the real America we ought to be concerned about in this country. They're the kind of people that my friend Norm Rice works for every day. They're the kind of people that the members of this congressional delegation support.

I want to say a special word of thanks to the ones who are here, to Norm Dicks, for his friendship to me and his leadership, especially on defense issues; to Jim McDermott, for his courageous and never flagging struggle to get all Americans health care; to Mike Kreidler, who in his first term has worked so hard to combat violence and to cut the deficit while the Republicans just talked about it. I want to thank Maria Cantwell for a lot of things, but especially for working so hard, along with Senator Murray, to make

sure Washington continues to be a center of innovation and software and computer technology, to work with government and industry partnerships to make sure that this is part of our 21st century economy and part of your 21st century future. Before he leaves the Congress, I want to thank Al Swift for being a good friend and a good supporter and ask you to replace him with Harriet Spanel.

And I want to say, every time I am around Ron Sims, I like him more and more and more. I was sitting there listening to his speech today, in the place where we were just before we came over here, thinking about, you know, this will be a real dose for the U.S. Senate, I mean, a real person. Instead of somebody that postures about being tough on crime and then votes against the crime bill, you've got a guy who goes out and puts his life on the line to try to fight crime and violence and give kids a better chance at life. Instead of pontificating about family and work, you've got a man who's worked all his life, raised a good family, and then spent a fair amount of his time trying to make sure everybody else could raise their family, too. So I hope you will bring him home in the next 2 weeks, and I want to say more about that. But I can tell you it will not only be good for you, it would do the rest of the United States Senate, especially the crowd on the other side, a world of good to have to deal with somebody who's actually lived about the things they spout off about all the time.

Folks, I think it would not be an overstatement to say that this is kind of an unusual election. [*Laughter*] And the psychology is sort of strange. And there is a huge gap between what is actually going on and what people have been told for 2 years is going on, a huge gap. Now, this is a very great country and a very good country. And given the information and the facts, the people will nearly always do the right thing.

But I want you to think about this: I went to Washington 21 months ago to restore the American dream, to get our country together, to take up problems too long ignored because my predecessors didn't want to deal with all the heat that would come down, to seize opportunities that we had too long walked away from.

My mission was pretty simple: I wanted to put Government on the side of ordinary Americans. I wanted to do it by supporting work and family with things like family leave and tax cuts for working people who work full time and have kids in the home that are just barely above poverty, and they ought never to be in poverty if you work full time and you got kids in your house. I wanted Government to be on the side of ordinary Americans by empowering people so they could assume responsibility for their own lives. That's what our bill to have school-to-work apprenticeships was about so that young people that don't go to college can at least train for good jobs. That's what the middle class college loan program was all about, to give lower interest rates and longer repayment terms so that nobody—I mean, nobody—ever walks away from a college education because they're afraid they can't afford to go or will never be able to pay their debts back.

With 30 years of accumulated social problems, I wanted a serious attack on crime and violence. That's what the Brady bill and the crime bill and all of its facets was all about. That's what our welfare reform efforts, to liberate people so they can succeed as parents and workers and won't be on the dole for a lifetime—that's what that is all about.

I wanted to get this economy going again. That's what bringing down the deficit and investing more in new technologies and expanding trade for Washington State and all the other States in the country—that's what that was all about, to get the economy going again. And I wanted to change the way the Government works. I wanted us to do more with less. There are more than 70,000 fewer people working for the National Government than there were the day I took office. There will soon be a reduction in the life of this budget of about 270,000, our Government will be the smallest it's been since John Kennedy. And every cent of the savings will go back to you at the grassroots to help you fight crime and build a more just society.

I wanted to make a world more peaceful and prosperous. That's what all these trade expansions are all about. That's what's selling all this high-tech material and products and the airplanes and the apples. That's what it's

all about, letting people prosper in a global economy. I wanted you to be safer. And that's why I'm so proud of the fact that these little children are the first generation of Americans since the dawn of nuclear power that do not have Russian missiles pointing at them. I am proud of that, glad they will not have to worry about a North Korean nuclear power threatening their future, glad the Chinese have agreed not to sell their dangerous missiles.

I wanted a world in which we could have a more peaceful and prosperous and democratic future. I'm proud of what we did in helping the election in South Africa and the peace process in Northern Ireland and standing up to Saddam Hussein, and bringing Father Aristide back to Haiti. I am proud of what we've been able to do to contribute to peace in the Middle East. And I hope you will pray for me and all those in the Middle East next week as we try to take the next big steps.

Now that I told you this, let me ask you this: If Jim McDermott and Norm Dicks and Maria Cantwell and Mike Kreidler were Republicans running for reelection, and they said, "Look, I gave you the smallest Federal Government since Kennedy, 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Truman, an explosive amount of economic growth, and finally some high-wage jobs coming back into our economy and the toughest crime bill in history," the Republican Party in Washington would be building a statue to each of them, not running against them. What is this? Isn't that right? Isn't that right? *[Applause]*

What is going on here that they say these people are the apostles of big Government and they're wildly liberal and they're for taxes? Eight times as many Washington citizens got a tax cut as a tax rate increase in our economic program. Don't you forget that.

How could people believe this? What is going on? Well, I'll tell you something, we live in a time when the negative is louder than the positive. The American people will nearly always, nearly always do the right thing if they know what it is. It used to be people didn't have enough information; now they have too much. And sometimes the people—and it's not all true, and it's hard to know what's relevant and what's irrelevant

and what's important and what's not important. And people are just screaming at them all the time, trying to keep them in a turmoil, upset, agitated, disoriented. That's what our adversaries try to do. They figure if they can make people mad enough and disoriented enough, they'll just lash out at whoever's in. And they will forget about what's happening.

I was telling some folks this morning that a few months ago in one of my rarer times when I had a little time to reflect, I sat down with a pencil and a piece of paper, and I made out a list of everything I'd ever done in my life to make a living, from the time I went to work in a grocery store when I was 13, to clearing land, to cutting grass, to building houses, to having a wholesale comic book operation. I've done a lot of interesting things. And the thing I was trying to think of, is there any job I ever had that's like the job I've got now. *[Laughter]* And was it Governor? Well, Governor was a little like it, but the job that's most like the one I've got now was one I didn't ever make any money at. It was when I was in civic clubs in high school, and we used to do car washes to raise money. Kids still do that, don't they? And I liked to be the guy that wiped off the windshield. That's kind of what we need to do now.

You think about it, if you're driving a car around and the windshield's all dirty, you'll think it's about to storm if the sun's shining bright. And if there are lots of things on the window, you'll think there's all kind of problems in the road, and it's just as clear as can be. And if it's really messed up, there may be a problem out there, and you won't see it, and you'll run smack dab into it. *[Laughter]* That's what I've got to do. We've got to wash America's windshield off in the next 2 weeks so they can see the light coming in.

I look at Ron Sims, I think of the life he has lived and the values that virtually pour out of him when he talks. And I think, I don't believe most people in Washington State want a Senator who voted against family leave, against college loans, against tax breaks for low-income working people, against deficit reduction, voted for the crime bill and then against it when it became a political deal. I don't think they want that.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. These people—you know, I don't think they want a Government that just screams and shouts and says, no, no, no, no, a Government of fear, not hope; a Government of blame, not responsibility.

You know, look what happened in the Senate at the end of this session. In the 1800's we had a filibuster, that is a talkathon, about once every 6 years. And people said, well, once every 6 years something will come along, and you don't want to rush it; you just ought to talk it to death to make sure you're doing the right thing.

And then in the 1900's we got more verbose, and we've had about one a year. The partisan atmosphere has gotten so intense that in the last week, on the last weekend of this session of Congress, we had four filibusters on four different issues in one day. That is what they are doing.

You take—let me just give you one example, the Superfund bill that their delaying tactics killed. There was nobody in America against the Superfund bill. We had the chemical companies and the labor unions and the Sierra Club. Shoot, those folks never agreed on anything. [Laughter] You couldn't get them to agree on what time the Sun was coming up tomorrow morning. [Laughter] But they agree on the Superfund bill. They wanted to clean up those toxic dumps. Nobody in America was against it except slightly more than 40 Republican Senators. And they knew that no way we could ever get it up. And why were they against it? Because they would have rather left the poison in the ground than let Maria Cantwell and Mike Kreidler and Norm Dicks and Jim McDermott come back here and say they helped to clean it up. That is the truth.

And so I say—and now they say, "Give us power and we'll—give us power, we'll give everybody a big old tax cut, especially if you're really rich. And we'll spend lots more on defense. And we'll spend lots more to revitalize Star Wars, and we'll balance the budget." [Laughter] Does that sound familiar?

Now, that costs a trillion dollars. You say, "Well, how are you going to pay for this?" They say, "We'll tell you after the election." [Laughter] You know how it'll be paid for? You know what it would take? It would take

a 30 percent across-the-board cut in every program in America.

What will happen is just what happened before. It will explode the deficit. It will lead to unwise cuts—and we have cut Government; they haven't—and it will lead to shipping our jobs overseas instead of bringing them back home to Washington State.

We have to say, "We tried that once. Thank you very much. We don't want to go back to the trickle-down economics and the divisive social policies that you gave us before. We don't want to go back. We don't want to go back."

I want you to think about this. I want you to think about this in the 2 weeks and a few days that remain. We've still got a lot of challenges in this country. We've got economic challenges. We've got social challenges. We've got important political reform and environmental and health care and welfare challenges to face. But this country's in better shape than it was 21 months ago. We have a Government that's done some important things for ordinary Americans. We've taken a serious stand against crime. There are more jobs. There is a lower deficit. It is a more peaceful world. We are in better shape.

What we need to do now is to say to the American people and to say to the people in Washington, "Look, it's up to you now. You've got to keep going into the future. You don't want to turn back now. You've got to choose hope over fear. You've got to empower people, not let somebody grab power with a bunch of cheap promises from yesterday. You have got to look at the future as it is and look at the facts as they are."

We've got to have everybody here thinking about what I did as a little boy. If you'll go out and you'll wipe off the windshields, if you will turn the lights on in Washington State, you will have Ron Sims for a United States Senator, and you will have these Congressmen back, and we'll have America going forward into the future.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you. You can do it. You can do it.

One more thing. Don't you dare walk out of here and just think about the cheering. Spend your time for the next 2 weeks talking to people who weren't here. Go have a cup of coffee with your neighbor. And if they're

mad and upset and fuming, ask them to relax, take a deep breath, look at the pretty fall coming on, and talk about your country. The people of this country will do the right thing if they know the facts. And each of you should make a personal commitment to doing that, not only for them but for these kids here. You can do it. Turn the lights on. You can do it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:36 p.m. in the Flag Pavilion Room at the Seattle Center. In his remarks, he referred to Larry Brown, Boeing machinist; John Manning, Seattle police officer; Mikelle Mathers, AmeriCorps volunteer; Mayor Norman B. Rice of Seattle; and Harriet Spanel and Ron Sims, congressional candidates. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

**Remarks on the Office of
Management and Budget
Memorandum in Seattle**
October 23, 1994

I'd like to make a very brief statement about the Alice Rivlin memo on the options for deficit reduction.

First of all, my position is what it was in the campaign of '92 and what it has been through the first 2 budget years. I do not support cuts in Social Security, and I believe any savings we achieve in the Medicare program should be used in health care. That has always been my position.

The memo was a list of options that grew out of a consideration of what might be the recommendations of the Kerrey commission, what might come out of the budgeting process next year, and the kinds of problems that might be created if the Republican contract that the Republican House leader and the Senate leader and others have embraced. We have serious problems with the deficit still, in the future because of the escalating costs of health care. And if they were to have a huge tax cut for the wealthy, increase defense, increase Star Wars, we would be looking at an explosion in the deficit that could only be dealt with with massive cuts in other programs, all other programs.

But there is nothing in that memo and nothing in the record which should indicate

that I have changed my position on these two fundamental issues.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:13 p.m. at the Seattle Center.

**Remarks on the Office of
Management and Budget
Memorandum in Seattle**
October 23, 1994

I've been—when I gave my statement over there one of you asked me a question—and I left—about Mr. Gingrich's charge that it was hypocritical for someone to have a memo which speculated about the recommendations that the Kerrey commission and others might have.

Now, I've told you what my position is. And my position is, I haven't and don't support cuts in Social Security, and I would support savings in the Medicare program only if they're used to advance the cause of health care.

Now, Mr. Gingrich has leveled a charge which is not right. It doesn't have anything to do with how the list came about. But he can solve this whole problem if he would say what I said. So just ask him if he and Senator Dole will say what I said. Will they say they support—they don't support cuts in Social Security, and they won't support using Medicare savings for anything other than helping health care?

If they have the same position, they can make this issue go away. Then they have to answer, what about their trillion dollar contract, because they will explode the deficit by a trillion dollars and start sending jobs overseas again.

The answer to this is for him to say what I have said to you today. So ask him if he'll take the same position. And then the only question is whether he's going to abandon his contract for all these tax cuts and spending increases.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:45 p.m. at the King County Airport. In his remarks, he referred to House Republican whip Newt Gingrich. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Statement on Signing the
Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1994**
October 22, 1994

The "Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1994," H.R. 5116, stands out as a significant achievement of the 103rd Congress, and I am pleased today to sign this measure into law. Breaking through years of gridlock that prevented the enactment of meaningful bankruptcy reform legislation, the chief sponsors of this measure worked tirelessly on a bipartisan basis with the Justice Department and other agencies of this Administration to pass this bill. Senator Howell Heflin, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts and Administrative Practice, Senator Charles Grassley, Ranking Member of that Subcommittee, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., Ranking Member of that Committee, Congressman Mike Synar, and their respective staffs are to be commended for their efforts.

This is the most broad-based bankruptcy reform measure to be signed into law in 16 years. Bankruptcy plays a pivotal role in the dynamic American economy and is a critical element of our civil justice system. The Act will update the bankruptcy system so that it may better serve the needs of debtors and creditors, from individuals and small business owners to large corporations and financial institutions. The role of government agencies in bankruptcy proceedings will also be clarified, assuring enhanced collection of debts owed to the public treasury.

Of particular significance are the provisions of this Act directed at accelerating the reorganization process for small businesses. The current version of chapter 11, which embodies a single set of procedures for all types of reorganizations, has proven to be particularly burdensome and time consuming to both small business debtors and creditors, resulting in unnecessary costs and delays. The Act will create a simplified "fast-track" system for businesses with debts totaling less than \$2 million, meaning far quicker and less costly disposition of approximately 70 percent of the business reorganizations handled by the bankruptcy system. This is precisely the kind of reform that will restore public

faith in the ability of our courts to perform in a timely and cost-effective manner.

This Act also expands the use of "consumer reorganizations," allowing individuals with debts up to \$1 million to file for bankruptcy under chapter 13. This provision provides an alternative to the harsher process of liquidation while maintaining safeguards against fraud and abuse.

I am also pleased to note the enactment of new bankruptcy fraud measures. Creation of a criminal bankruptcy fraud offense will enhance the integrity of the bankruptcy process and give prosecutors new tools to use against those who would abuse the system.

Finally, and perhaps of the greatest, long-range importance, is the creation of a National Bankruptcy Review Commission to study and report on the issues and problems relating to bankruptcy. Beyond the numerous specific deficiencies in the Bankruptcy Code, it is also time to look at critical policy issues concerning the bankruptcy system. These issues include the relationship of the bankruptcy system to the health of the economy in general and of individual communities, the interaction between bankruptcy law and other legal disciplines, and encouraging the use of alternatives to litigation. I look forward to the expeditious appointment of members of the Commission, drawn from diverse backgrounds of legal, academic, business, and practical experience.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 22, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 5116, approved October 22, was assigned Public Law No. 103-394. This statement was released by the Office of the Press on October 24.

**Interview With Chuck Meyer of
WWWE Radio in Cleveland, Ohio**
October 24, 1994

Mr. Meyer. President Clinton, good morning and welcome to Cleveland. President Clinton, can you hear me?

The President. I can. Can you hear me?

Mr. Meyer. Yes. This is Chuck Meyer, and welcome to Cleveland. Good morning to you, sir.

The President. Thank you, Chuck, it's nice to hear your voice.

OMB Memorandum

Mr. Meyer. Now, let's clear up a matter here of this budget memo. This story broke yesterday in the Washington Post, and your reaction to it came on the West Coast yesterday. And some people in Cleveland may not be caught up on it, but apparently there was a budget memo that was leaked to the Washington Post indicating that one of your administration's options in the future might be a reduction in Social Security benefit COLA's and a raising of some taxes. What's the straight story on that?

The President. The straight story is that that was not an options memo for us, it was a memo which simply cataloged all the things that we might be confronted with over the next couple of years by this commission on entitlements that's meeting, this bipartisan commission, as well as if the Republicans make substantial gains in the Congress and try to implement their contract with America. You know, they've made a trillion dollars' worth of commitments to the American people, big tax cuts for the wealthy. And they've promised to balance the budget while cutting taxes to the wealthy and increasing defense and increasing Star Wars again. They won't say how it's going to be paid for. Our calculations indicate that it would require a 30 percent cost cut in everything else. So you're going to have exploding deficits, Medicare cuts, and other things if this contract goes in.

This memo was simply designed to show us the kind of problems we were going to confront over the next few years if those sort of things came up. The truth is, we're doing a good job right now in bringing the deficit down. Today I'm going to speak at the Cleveland City Club and talk about the deficit reduction. We brought it down from \$290 billion-plus to \$203 billion this year in 2 years. That's \$100 billion less than it was projected to be when I took office.

And we've done it by cutting the size of Government, by eliminating Government

programs, by cutting others, while still being able to increase our investment in education and training and new technology. And that's what I want to keep doing, managing this thing in a very disciplined way to give us a smaller Government that does more. And if we do that we can maintain our commitments to our senior citizens and do what we have to do to grow this economy. The main thing we can't do is to throw our economy in a tailspin by going back to trickle-down economics.

Administration Accomplishments

Mr. Meyer. Mr. President, I'm looking at a political cartoon that appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer the other day and it's a couple sitting on their front porch and she says, "I know I'm mad at Clinton. I just can't remember why."

And the whole question comes up here, while Ronald Reagan was the "teflon President," and nothing stuck to him, everything is sticking to you. And you're getting blamed for just about everything going on in the country today, including the heartbreak of psoriasis. Why is that?

The President. Well, I don't know. I think part of it is the skill of the Republican congressional leadership and the far right in this country in just continuing to keep the American people in a turmoil and obscuring the facts. I mean, what I've got to do is to spend more time communicating with the American people about what we've done and where we're going.

Take Ohio, for example. The unemployment rate has dropped 1½ percentage points since I've been President. Business failures have dropped by 24 percent; jobs are up. The economic plan that the Congress passed has given us 2 years of deficit reduction already for the first time in more than 20 years, and next year it'll go down again; it'll be the first time since Truman was President.

Eleven times as many Ohio families got a tax cut as a tax rate increase under our economic plan, 509,000 families. The Family and Medical Leave Act that we passed gives 2 million families in this State opportunities for the working people to take a little time off when their babies are born or their parents are sick. That bill was something we sup-

ported that the Republican leadership opposed. The same is true of college loans for middle class kids, immunizing all the kids in this country under 2, things that will strengthen work and families.

So I believe if the people of Ohio and the people of this country knew what we've done to empower working people, to increase our investments in education, to shrink the size of the Federal Government, shrink the deficit, and grow the economy, they'd be pretty well pleased with this administration.

But if you look at the environment in which we've operated, which has been highly contentious, highly negative, and almost no opportunity to get through the positive achievements, it's not surprising, people can only act on what they know.

Crime

Mr. Meyer. But, Mr. President, don't you play into those hands sometimes yourself? For instance, the crime rate's been going down now for several years, and yet, crime seems to be the number one issue in this campaign if there is such a thing as a top issue. We have a lot of politicians running around the country ready to throw everybody in jail, and yet, the crime rate's going down. Doesn't that—isn't that a non-issue.

The President. No, it's not a non-issue for a couple of reasons. The crime rate is going down in some categories in some places because we know that local police and community groups have figured out how to lower the crime rate with community policing and having neighbors work with law enforcement. We know that. But we also know that the crime rate is going up in two ways that are very troubling. First of all, it's going up among teenagers and people under 18. And secondly, the amount of random violence is going up among children under 18. And that's very disturbing to people, and it makes for a more insecure society.

Now, what happens about whether people know the crime rate is going up or down is a function of what they see on their local and national news. But there is still way too much crime and violence in this country. How can you say we made our own problem? I gave the Congress a comprehensive crime bill, which the first time around both Repub-

licans and Democrats voted for it, and the second time around all the Republicans bailed out and tried to make it a political issue—or most of the Republicans bailed out. Some of them stayed on and showed good citizenship.

But that crime bill will increase police presence by 20 percent in the communities of this country. It offers strategies to help prevent crime, and it has much tougher punishment for seriously violent offenders. So I think it's a very good crime bill. It makes a real start in the right direction.

So if you look at what we've done here in the last 2 years, we've strengthened the economy, we've made a serious assault on crime, and we've done a lot of things for ordinary working people like the family leave bill, the middle class college loans, and things of that kind. But I think most people in Ohio support the Brady bill, support the crime bill, support the things we've done and regret the fact that it became a political football in Washington.

Health Care Reform

Mr. Meyer. Mr. President, we've had some calls this morning asking about health care. I know it was a big disappointment that it did not pass, and I read where the White House is gearing up for a more aggressive health care plan to pass next year. And yet, the other day I read where that 30-some-odd million people in this country who don't have health care has grown to nearly 40 million people now.

The President. That's right.

Mr. Meyer. I think these people want to know why health care didn't pass and why the debate got so bogged down when this was clearly a top issue that Americans wanted and were willing to pay for 2 years ago.

The President. Well, it got bogged down because the people who are making a huge amount of money out the system that we have spent a lot of money to terrify the people who do have health care today into thinking that if our bill passed it would make it worse and it would lead to more Government intervention in the health care system.

That was not the truth. And what we've got to do is to come back and find a way to demonstrate to the American people what

we want to do is to protect the plans that they have now that they like, but to make sure we cover the people who don't have health insurance and we control the costs better.

But here's the fundamental problem. Every other country in the world with an advanced economy, every other wealthy country, spends between 9 and 10 percent of its income on health care to cover everybody. We spend 14 percent of our income or another \$240 billion, and we have almost 40 million people without insurance. Another million Americans in working families lost their health insurance last year.

Well, the people that are making that extra \$240 billion by and large don't want us to change. And they spent somewhere between \$200 million and \$300 million lobbying against our health care plan. Then again, the Republican congressional leadership operated on the theory that they could not permit any kind of health care to pass because it would be politically beneficial to the Democrats and to the administration. I wanted them to have half the credit. I wanted this to be bipartisan. And we've just got to keep dealing with this.

The health care problem is the main cause of the big Government deficit. It is a main source of insecurity for working people who have jobs. And we're going in reverse. We're the only major country where we're actually losing ground in providing coverage to people. So I'm going to come back and try to find a way that the American people will support and will not be frightened by, to cover the people who don't have coverage, to protect the coverage of the people who do have coverage, and to slow the rate of cost increases.

Midterm Elections

Mr. Meyer. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you another political question. My 17-year-old daughter, Andrea, told me to pass along the message to you that she intends to vote for you in 1996 when she is allowed to vote in a Presidential election for the first time. And that's the good news.

The bad news is, why isn't Tom Foley as excited about you as my daughter?

The President. Well, what are—Tom Foley has done a pretty good job.

Mr. Meyer. Well, he wasn't by your side in Seattle yesterday.

The President. Well, he shouldn't have been. You know why he wasn't? He had a debate last night, and he was preparing for it, and he was doing exactly what he should've done. He was over in the part of the State where his district was, doing exactly what he should have done. The Seattle Congressmen were all there. And I think he—I would have been disappointed if he had come all the way over there and then turned around and gone back and taken away 3 or 4 hours from his debate preparation time. He's in a tough fight. He's been in tough fights consistently in his district for the last 15 or 20 years, and he's over there paying attention to the people of his district, which is what he ought to be doing.

Mr. Meyer. Okay. Well, there is some logic to that explanation. But there are Democrats around the country this year who don't want you to come and campaign for them, and you're reduced to helping get votes for Mario Cuomo and Ted Kennedy, and these guys should be winning easy reelection, shouldn't they?

The President. I don't know why you would say that. It's very hard for any Governor to get elected to four terms. Very, very difficult. And Governor Cuomo had a pretty close race 4 years ago. I think he is going to win, but it's a very combative environment in New York. And I was asked to come in there because it was a difficult case and because I think he's an important leader for our country and I hope he can be reelected.

Senator Kennedy has been in office 30 years, and there's a big anti-incumbent feeling out in the country this year. I think he will be reelected because he's been willing to change, embrace new ideas, and take a different approach in the last few years. I think he's really become an instrument of a lot of the new ideas the American people would like to see adopted by the Congress, and I think that's why they'll reelect him.

But I don't think you should assume that because somebody is well known they'll have an easy reelection. Sometimes that makes for a tough reelection, particularly given the

harsh feelings people have about the Congress.

Middle East Peace Process

Mr. Meyer. I know that you have to go in a moment, but I wanted to ask you a quick question about Syria. You're making the trip to the Middle East this week, and you're visiting Syria, a country that we still consider a renegade nation, a country that has not done enough, say some, to control radical elements in the region. What do you hope to accomplish there this week?

The President. I don't expect a dramatic breakthrough, and I want to caution the American people about that going in. I mean, the primary purpose of going to the Middle East is to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Israel and Jordan, particularly given the difficult events of the last couple of weeks and the violence that they've undergone. I was asked to come there and witness the signing because the United States played a major role in this peace agreement.

But I'm going to Syria because achieving a full peace in the Middle East requires a peace between Israel and Syria, which will make possible a peace between Israel and Lebanon. And that would be a huge plus for the United States and all the world to have a comprehensive peace there. I'm going because progress has been made. Terrorism is still an issue with Syria, and it will continue to be. But it seems clear to me that the best way to end terrorism in the Middle East is to have a comprehensive peace settlement there. And I do believe we're making progress. And I think if I go to Syria we will make further progress. Since I am in the region, I think that I ought to keep working and not just celebrate what we've done already, but to keep making progress toward the future.

Mr. Meyer. Mr. President, thank you very much for your time, and enjoy your trip to northern Ohio today.

The President. I'm looking forward to it. Thank you.

Mr. Meyer. I'm sure that was the chilliest jog you've had in a while, but I hope it was okay this morning.

The President. To tell you the truth, I got in late so I slept in. I was a derelict this morning. I didn't go jog. [Laughter]

Mr. Meyer. Well, shame on you, but we'll give you this one.

The President. Thanks.

Mr. Meyer. Thanks again for your time.

The President. Goodbye.

NOTE: The interview began at 8:35 a.m. in the Sheraton City Centre.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the Cleveland City Club

October 24, 1994

The President. Thank you. It's kind of nice to be out of Washington. And it's very nice to be back here for my third appearance. On the way in I told Steve, I said, "Shoot, if I show up again, you're going to have to start charging me dues." He said, "You've forgotten Senator Metzenbaum's already paid your dues." [Laughter] So I thank you, Senator, for paying my dues.

I'm glad to be joined here by so many guests and especially by some of your distinguished political leaders. I want to thank Howard Metzenbaum, as he leaves the Senate, for the things he's done for Ohio and for the United States over the years.

This is not what I came to talk about, but I want to mention in particular a bill that he got into the very last set of bills that passed in the filibuster-wild Senate at the end of the session. It's a bill that has achieved, finally, some long overdue national notice, to make it easier for parents to adopt children and to make it easier to get these kids out of long-term interminable delays in foster homes and into solid adoptive homes. And it's a great contribution to what I think ought to be the pro-family position of the United States of America. I thank you for that, sir. It was great.

I'm glad to be here with Senator Glenn and Congressman Fingerhut, Congressman Stokes, Congressman Sawyer, Congressman Hoke, former Congressman Mary Rose Oakar is here and as an Arab-American is going to the Middle East with the American delegation. I'm glad to see you here. Mayor White, I thank you for meeting me at the

airport last night at midnight. I thought, now, there is a guy who is leaving no stone unturned. I thought Cleveland already had all the Federal money the law allowed, and there was Mike at the airport at midnight. [Laughter]

Your ex-treasurer, our new Treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow is here. [Applause] Thank you. The only person happier than I was when Mary Ellen Withrow was appointed was Lloyd Bentsen, the Secretary of the Treasury, because you can't print a new dollar bill until you've got a Treasurer, and he didn't have his name on any dollar bills. So after Mary Ellen was confirmed, Lloyd Bentsen sent me the first dollar bill with his name on it and with her name on it, which is framed in the White House.

I'm glad to see my friend Joel Hyatt here, and so many other friends of mine here in Ohio. I thank you for coming.

Eighteen months ago I had the privilege of speaking here at your club and outlining our economic programs to get the economy moving again. That was on May 10th of 1993. Ninety days after I spoke to this distinguished gathering, Congress passed that economic program by a landslide, you may remember, one vote in both Houses. [Laughter] As the Vice President always says, he's the most successful member of my administration; whenever he votes, we win. [Laughter]

Today I wanted to come back here to discuss with you the progress that's been made and what we still have to do and the decisions that lie before you as citizens of this great country. We have made an important beginning with a comprehensive economic strategy designed to empower American workers to compete and win in the 21st century. That is, after all, our mission.

The key elements of the strategy are simple and direct and important: First, reduce the deficit; second, expand trade and intensify the efforts of the United States Government to be a partner with American business in doing business beyond our borders; third, increase our investment in education and training, in technology and defense conversion; fourth, bring the benefits of free enterprise to areas which have been isolated from it, in our inner cities and rural areas, with new strategies, including but not limited to

welfare reform; fifth, reinvent the Federal Government, make it smaller, more effective, less regulatory, more efficient.

These strategies have all been implemented. And I want to go through them point by point, but I want to say what is clearly obvious. The implementation of these strategies required a reversal of the policies of the past 12 years. It required much more aggressive, innovative partnership with the private sector. We recognized that Government's role cannot be either to save the economy, because we don't have the capacity to do that in the global economy, or to sit on the sidelines but instead to do everything we can to create the right climate, the right conditions and to empower people so that they can compete and win by taking responsibility for themselves and their families. The increasing changes in the world make this imperative.

The course of the last 21 months is very different from the previous course, as I have said, and one of the great questions in this election season is whether we will press on this course or return to the course we abandoned just 21 months ago, a course with easy promises and superficial attraction, but which is a proven failure. We cannot afford to bankrupt the country when we need to invest and grow the economy.

Let's look at the record. Business leaders here and all around the country understand that a nation like any successful enterprise needs a clear mission, a strategy to achieve the mission, the determination and the patience to implement the strategy, and a willingness to look at the bottom line, to measure success and failure and to make adjustments as indicated by results. The mission is clear, to empower the American people to compete and win. The strategy is sound; I just outlined it. We clearly have pursued it with determination, and the bottom line is getting stronger every day.

Let's look at the elements of the strategy, starting with the national deficit. You all know that the deficit exploded in the 1980's and that the aggregate debt of the United States quadrupled in only 12 years from what had been accumulated in the previous 190-plus years.

Last year we began to change that. We passed huge reductions in Federal spending, cuts in over 300 Federal programs, outright eliminations in scores of programs, a 5-year freeze on domestic discretionary spending, restrictions on entitlements. In the budget I just signed we not only reduced defense spending, we reduced discretionary domestic spending for the first time in 25 years.

The Congress enacted the reinventing Government program in which the Vice President has taken such a lead and in which we committed to reduce the size of the Federal Government by 272,000 over a 6-year period, bringing the Government to its smallest size since President Kennedy served in this office. Already there are more than 70,000 fewer people working for the Federal Government than there were on the day I became President. One hundred percent of this money is going to help you and people like you all over America fight crime at the grassroots level. That is how the crime bill is paid for. That is how we are going to increase the police forces of this country by 20 percent, build another 100,000 jail cells for serious offenders to enforce the tougher penalties in the bill, and pay for the preventive strategies that the law enforcement officers and the community leaders and the mayors say will work, not by increasing the deficit, not by raising taxes but by shrinking the Government.

One other part of this strategy that I think is terribly important, especially in Ohio, to mention is the procurement reforms. The United States spends about \$200 billion a year buying goods and services under rules and regulations that would give anybody a headache. It was the rules and regulations, not outright venality which caused the famous stories you've all heard of the \$500 hammer and the \$50 ashtray, rules and regulations which literally added \$50 to every Government purchase that cost \$2,500 or less—\$50. If it was a \$50 purchase, it cost \$100. If it was a \$1,000 purchase, it cost \$1,050. After years of haggling about it, we have finally passed procurement reform which will save hundreds of millions of dollars a year and put an end to the policies which brought us the \$500 hammers, thanks

largely to the leadership of Senator John Glenn, and I thank him for that.

Well, all this has led to deficit reduction. When I spoke here last year the Federal deficit for 1994, the fiscal year that ended on the last day of September, was estimated to be \$305 billion. Today the Treasury has announced its preliminary estimate, \$203 billion, \$102 billion less than was projected before the plan was passed. The decline in the deficit since 1992 is the largest 2-year decline in our history, and the first time in 20 years the deficit has gone down for 2 years in a row.

Let me go over here and try to illustrate what this means, and I hope this microphone works. It does. That's the technology wizards in our administration having their way.

So you can get a feel for this, the deficit, which was very small in 1979, began going up dramatically. It was at about \$60 billion, or \$65 billion in 1980, and then it began really rising. It had gone to \$220 billion by 1990; you see where it was in 1992. Our budget took quite a bit off of it last year. And what these figures mean is that now we are drawing the line on the deficit down to \$200 billion, a dramatic change.

So you can get an idea of the difference, if we hadn't passed that deficit reduction plan last year, the deficit would have been off the charts, up here at \$305 billion. And because we did, next year it will be off the charts down here at about \$170 billion. And when that happens, it will be the first time that the deficit's gone down 3 years in a row since Harry Truman was the President of the United States. The Congress deserves credit for doing this and helping to lift a burden of debt from our children and helping to free up funds that would otherwise have been consumed in financing Government debt to finance homes and businesses all across the United States.

The second thing I want to emphasize is that the remarkable thing about this budget is that while reducing the deficit and reducing spending, we have actually been able to increase our investments in education and training and technology. We increased Head Start. We increased funds to help all States develop apprenticeship training programs for young people who don't go to college but

do want to get good jobs. With the new individual education accounts that I announced on Friday, we are reorganizing the college loan program to provide lower interest loans, lower fees on the loans, longer repayment options for young people who get jobs when they get out of college with modest wages and should not have to pay more than a certain percentage of their income. Over the next few years, this will make 20 million Americans, including almost a million in Ohio, eligible for lower interest, longer term repayment on their college loans. At a time when what you earn depends upon what you can learn, these investments are very, very important for the economic future of the entire United States.

In addition to that, we have increased our investments in defense conversion, including in several sites here in Ohio. This is especially important because defense has come down rather dramatically since 1987, and we had built a huge high-wage, high-tech infrastructure around the defense industries that can make a major contribution to our moving into the 21st century if we have the kind of partnerships to help them make the transition.

The third thing we did was to expand trade and to intensify America's efforts to promote the sales of American products. We passed NAFTA. We negotiated a new trade deal with Japan which has opened markets for everything from cellular telephones to American rice and apples for the first time. We have negotiated the GATT agreement. And I believe Congress will pass it after the election when they come back in a special session to do that. That will add \$100 to \$200 billion a year to the gross national product of the United States.

We've also changed the time when the American Government thought that it should be totally passive in helping American companies pierce foreign markets when other governments were doing everything they could to help their companies do the same. We've worked hard from Saudi Arabia to South Africa to China to open up contracts for American businesses that they can win on the merits.

The fourth thing I mentioned I want to take a minute of time to talk about because it relates to the kind of things that Mayor

White has tried to do here in Cleveland. We know that even as the economy grows, there are pockets of our country that have not been affected by the economic recovery, where investment has not come, where jobs have not come, where people are still despondent, places where free enterprise has not reached. This is true, by the way, in every advanced country, but it's more true in the United States, in our inner cities and in some of our isolated rural areas. What are we to do about it?

The first thing we have to try to do is to change the job mix, keep getting more good jobs here, which we're doing. The second thing we want to do is to try to provide special incentives for people to invest in isolated areas, the empowerment zones, the enterprise community concept, all of which offer incentives for people to put their money into areas that are otherwise not so attractive.

You know, for years we've had special incentives for our business people to invest in the Caribbean. I don't quarrel with that, but we ought to have the same sort of advantages for people who invest in places in the United States that have no jobs and no hope and no future.

I signed a bill not very long ago that will set up a network across the country of community development banks, modeled on successful experiments in Chicago and even in rural areas in our country and in other parts of the world, to make small loans to lower income people at a profit to generate capital in areas that otherwise don't have it. There are markets all across this country in areas where people live, but there aren't very many jobs. And we need to bring capital investment to development banks there.

The last thing I'd like to say is, we've tried to make Government a better partner with deregulation of banking and trucking and exports of high-tech products and by just having our Government work better. The Small Business Administration when I took office was, for most small business people, kind of a bureaucratic pain. We have reorganized it now so that the loan applications are one page long; and you're supposed to get an answer, yes or no, if you put the documents in, within 72 hours. That's the kind of service

the American people ought to get if we're going to have an agency of that kind.

Now, this strategy of ours has a lot of critics. When the deficit reduction plan passed, there were speech after speech after speech saying, "Gosh, if we do this the economy will collapse; the deficit will explode; middle class taxpayers will be bankrupted. This will be the end of the world." I heard it all. Then when NAFTA passed we had a different set of critics who said there would be a giant sucking sound—I think that was his phrase—[laughter]—do you all remember that?—to destroy our industry. Well, the economic program passed, and jobs went up, and the deficit went down. Middle class families did not have their tax rates hiked. The wealthiest Americans and corporations with incomes of over \$10 million did, but all the money went to deficit reduction. And we built a new partnership with business by things like deregulation of banking and deregulation of intrastates trucking, which saves billions of dollars a year which then can be freed up to invest in this economy.

Since NAFTA passed, exports to Mexico are up 21 percent. The Big Three automakers report their exports are up 500 percent to Mexico. NAFTA isn't a year old and I just got back from Detroit where the biggest problem in Detroit is now complaints by auto workers working overtime. That is a high-class problem.

So that's the strategy; that's what we've done. What are the results? We are in the midst of the first investment-led, low-inflation, productivity-driven economic expansion in over three decades. New businesses are up. Exports are up. Jobs are growing. The deficit is falling. In the last 21 months there have been 4.6 million new jobs in the American economy, 90 percent of them in the private sector. In 1994 something perhaps more fundamental and important has finally begun to happen. More than half the new jobs created by our economy in this year are above average wage, more high-wage jobs in this year than in the previous 5 years combined. And that is good news for the American working people.

Investment in new equipment is 8 times what it was in the last 4 years. And the Federal Government's purchases are down al-

most 8 percent. This is not a Government-inspired, deficit-driven recovery. This is more enterprise and less Government, better for the long run.

For the first time since 1979 America leads the world in the sales of automobiles. For the first time in a decade we've had 9 months of manufacturing job growth in a row. For the first time in 9 years the annual vote of international economists said America, not Japan, was the most productive economy in the entire world.

Now, you might say, if all that's so, why aren't we happier? [Laughter] Well, partly because the atmosphere in which we operate today is particularly contentious and, I believe, entirely too partisan. Partly because the way we get our information guarantees that we'll know more about our failures than our successes, guarantees that we'll know more about our conflicts than when we cooperate. Partly because we're dealing with long-term problems that haven't really affected a lot of real people's lives yet.

If you look at the problems of crime, violence, family breakdown, drugs, gangs, and guns, they are a complex of social problems that have been developing over 30 years. You can't just wipe away their reality in a few months. If you look at the economic anxieties of people—average hourly wages in this country actually peaked about 20 years ago, and working people have been losing their health insurance steadily for about 10 years, the only advanced country in the world where this is the case. Another million Americans in working families lost their health insurance last year. So there are real reasons that a lot of hard-working Americans don't feel more secure or more happy with good statistics and growth rates. They're still not sure that guarantees them a good future and a good job, the ability to keep their kids' health insurance or put aside money for their college education. They're still not sure that we're going to be able to solve a lot of the problems that violate our values and our conscience in our society. They're still not sure that they're going to be able to achieve the American dream or that their children will be able to.

I want to say to you, the only way to do that is to keep facing our problems and facing

our challenges and moving into the future with a strategy we know has the best chance to work and to resist easy promises, quick fixes, and things that have already caused us trouble in the past. The realities of the modern world are that the economy is so globalized and change is so institutionalized that no government of any nation can promise to protect people from the changes of the world economy. You can't make the world go away, to use the phrase from the old song. You cannot do that.

So if change is inevitable and if we will never have a single economy anymore—we'll have a local economy in Cleveland and a State economy in Ohio and a regional economy in the Middle West and a national economy in America and a global economy in the whole world—if that is the reality, then what do we have to do? We have to facilitate people making the changes that will make change our friend and not our enemy, that will make change a source of security for us, not a source of insecurity. And we have to do it in a way that promotes those institutions of society that are most important to us, principally our families and our communities.

Companies are making changes like this all the time. And the changing nature of work is placing enormous demands on working people. The average worker today in every kind of work has to be able to work with more information, to be more creative, to solve more problems on his or her own initiative. We have to see more responsibility being devolved down to workers at the grass-roots level. And they have to learn more skills and information than ever before because the average worker will change jobs six or seven times in a lifetime, even if he or she stays with the same firm. This is the law of change with which we all will live and which we will either use to help make us more prosperous or walk away from and pay the penalty.

Since every American has to face these forces, and every American family does, the job of the Government ought to be to try to empower people to make the most of them.

A family can't treat these problems just like a business can. You know, if a family's under economic stress, you can't divest your-

self, although some people with teenagers would like to from time to time. *[Laughter]* You can't really downsize. You can't restructure. I mean, you're sort of stuck with who shows up at the dinner table at night. *[Laughter]*

So when the family is under economic stress, what are their options? You either have to learn and to become more productive or get a better job or you face increased competition by hunkering down, working harder for less, and just trying to be as tough as the times are.

Now, that is what has happened to millions and millions of American families for the last 20 years, that latter alternative, working harder for less. The average working family is spending more hours at work today than 25 years ago for about the same hourly wages, adjusted for inflation. When working families are doing everything they can and small business people are and they lose their health insurance or their health insurance deductibles are so high that all they really have is the insurance that if they get sick they won't lose their home, it's tough on them. It's hard to maintain the sense of security and optimism that a country like ours needs to lead the world into the future and to keep our own dreams alive.

So what are we are going to do about that? Well, we need more pro-family policies, like family and medical leave. We need to pass welfare reform that enables people to move from welfare to work, to be successful parents and successful workers. And we can do that. I sent a bill to the Congress last spring. We've given 19 States permission to get out from under all the crazy Federal rules that keep them from moving people into the workplace. And we're going to pass it next year.

We need to set up a national network of these manufacturing extension centers, like the Great Lakes Manufacturing Technology Center here in Cleveland, to help small firms to accommodate new challenges, to compete, and to get new technologies. We need to pass the telecommunications reform bill which died at the end of this Congress, which will help us to get along that information super-highway and provide unbelievable numbers of high-wage jobs for our people.

We need to reform our job training programs, especially our unemployment system, and transform it into a reemployment system. We are still stuck with the same unemployment program we've had for 40 years. It's not fair to working people, but it's not fair to employers either to pay a FUTA tax which you pay to somebody when they're unemployed so that they have enough money to get along on. It's less than they were making at work but more than they'd be making on welfare. The whole assumption is they're going to be called back to work. Eighty percent of the people who lose their jobs today don't get called back to their old jobs. We are stuck with the 1950's system, when we need one for the 21st century that will encourage continuous retraining and placement in the work force. So these are some of the things that we have to do.

Let me just say one last word about health care. By the time the people who like the system the way it is got through spending between \$200 and \$300 million to convince the rest of you that I was trying to have the Government take over your health care and take away your choice of doctors, you didn't like my plan too much. That didn't happen to be what I was trying to do, but there was nothing I could do to stand against that.

Here is the problem that we'll have to face. No country in the world spends more than 10 percent of its income on health care except us. We spend 14 percent. That is \$260 billion more than the other most expensive system in the world. Now, if we were just buying better health care, who would complain? The problem is no other advanced economy in the world—the other countries that are about as rich as we are, they cover everybody. Their costs are more nearly in line with inflation, and people don't lose their health care when they move from job to job, all of which happens here.

I will say again, the 1,100,000 people who lost their health insurance last year, almost all were in working families. They weren't people who were on welfare; they were in working families. So we have to find a way that you folks can accept and feel comfortable with that lets you keep what you've got if you've got it and you like it, gives people the security that they won't lose their

health insurance when they change jobs or if they happen to have a baby born with an illness, and still brings costs in line with inflation and provides coverage to the people who don't have coverage now, 85 percent of whom are workers. We've got to find some way to do that.

Now, keep in mind, we have reduced defense about all we can. We have reduced domestic spending for the first time in 25 years. The only thing driving the Federal deficit now is Medicare and Medicaid costs going up at 3 times the rate of inflation. This is a serious problem. We'll have to face it.

Now, having said all that, I hope that you are optimistic about the future. I hope that you will make a decision in these coming elections that is consistent with keeping on this course, because it is working.

This is not necessarily a partisan issue. There are a lot of Republicans who have good, serious ideas for how we keep bringing the deficit down and be discriminating about what we invest in. But I don't think this contract is a good idea because it promises everybody a tax cut, it promises a defense increase, promises to revive Star Wars, and promises to balance the budget. Now, that will indulge the present instead of preparing for the future. It will cut college loans explicitly, when we ought to be educating more people. It won't reduce the deficit; it will explode it. But it sounds good; it's a trillion dollars in promises. We're just 2 weeks away from the election. After all I've been through, I'd love to make you a trillion dollars' worth of promises. I could show everybody here a good time on that. *[Laughter]* We could have a good time.

But it wouldn't be the responsible thing to do. The responsible thing to do is to take your licks and say, look for the long run. Look for the long run. You know, I know people are frustrated and angry. One of the first things that every parent learns to try to teach your children is not to make decisions based on frustration and anger but to make decisions based on what you really know, when you're thinking, is best for the present and for the future.

So I ask you to think about this. We have made a substantial start at building the kind of America that will be strong in the 21st

century. There are reasons for Americans to still feel uncertain and worried. But the reasons can be addressed only if we keep going forward, not if we go back.

And the last thing I want to say is this—[*applause*—thank you. Sometimes we have to see ourselves as others see us. Sometimes where you get discouraged or so caught up in the day-to-day business that it's hard to make our contract with the future, our commitment to the long run, our covenant to revive the American dream, we need to remember how other people see us.

Other people think, folks, this is a pretty great country. It's no accident that when they want to have elections in South Africa, they ask us to come help put them on, or when after hundreds of years of fighting in Northern Ireland, they want the United States to bring people here who are on opposite sides and let them come to America and see people who share their roots and try to work through this. It's no accident that when Saddam Hussein reared up again in the Gulf, the countries there that want to be free look to the United States for quick leadership. It's no accident that in the Middle East, it was the United States that was asked to witness this historic peace agreement between Israel and Jordan. That is not an accident. It was no accident. If you could have looked into the eyes of those young men and women we sent to Haiti in uniform when President Aristide went back and all the Haitian people had those signs in Creole saying "Thank you, America"—they know, other people know, this is a very great country.

It is our job to build on that greatness, even when it requires difficult decisions and looking toward tomorrow and not giving in to the easy path today. That is what is before us. And I believe that today you can see that we are a very different place than we were 21 months ago. We're in better shape than we were 18 months ago. We are going in the right direction. We should stay on this economic course and make it a bipartisan commitment to a strong America and a global economy that keeps the American dream alive into the next century.

Thank you very much.

Steve Smith. Thank you, President Clinton. We now turn to our traditional question-

and-answer period, a long tradition of the City Club. But because there were so many members who wished to ask questions today, we selected questioners by lottery a few minutes before the President arrived. In front of this audience, in fact, the names were drawn.

The questions, however, have not been submitted either to the President or to the City Club in advance. We'll both be hearing them for the first time. Please, those of you who are asking questions, please remember that President Clinton is the only one authorized to give a speech today so be sure your questions are, in fact, succinct questions. [*Laughter*]

And President Clinton, if you'll come back up here, I want to tell you that our membership director handed me a note while you were speaking, indicating that your renewal for City Club membership is now due. [*Laughter*] First question.

Republican Contract With America

Q. Mr. President, my question is about the Republican contract with America which includes several of the same proposals that you campaigned for 2 years ago, like the line-item veto, a middle class tax cut, requiring welfare recipients to work. But you have called this contract, on at least a half a dozen occasions, a contract on America. Your advisers may think that this is cute rhetoric, but I think it's outrageous because as one of its signers—

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Let him finish. Let him finish. He wanted to do this; let him finish.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. [*Laughter*] Because as one of its signers, your suggestion that I would take out a contract on my constituents is a suggestion that I take very, very personally. My question is this: At a time when the public is so concerned about violent crime, why would you resort to using such talk, in such an inflammatory way, especially when you have spoken yourself saying that you personally want to reduce the amount of partisanship in the debate?

Audience member. Ignore him.

The President. No, I don't want to ignore him. First of all, I agree with the line-item veto. I agree that we still should have some

tax relief for middle class taxpayers. The earned-income tax credit relief that we provided went to 15 million middle class families, including a half a million families in Ohio—10 times as many people here as got a tax increase—and it went up to \$27,000. I think we should do more; I agree with that. There are some things in there I agree with. I certainly agree with welfare reform.

And so I do agree with that. What I do not agree with is saying, "Put us in control, and we will cut everybody's taxes, balance the budget, increase defense, and increase Star Wars. And we'll tell you how we're going to do it after the election." That's what I don't agree with. And I do think that's a contract on our future.

And let me say this. And you may think that partisan rhetoric is rough, but I see Mr. Fingerhut over there. It was the Republicans, not the Democrats, that killed lobby reform and campaign finance reform in the last week of the session. And I appreciate your concern about crime and violence. I wish you hadn't voted against the Brady bill and the crime bill.

Q. Mr. President, it's an honor to be able to ask a question of the President of the United States. You have indicated your dislike for the contract with America. In particular, what do you dislike about the balanced budget amendment, requiring welfare recipients to work, a middle class tax credit, or reducing the size of Government, which all American people want?

The President. Okay. Stand there. Let's go through them all. First of all, I proposed welfare reform not all that different from the Republican plan. My bill was there, been in the Congress since March.

Secondly, I'm strong for the line-item veto, and I recognize that some members in my party in the Senate prohibited it from passing, and I'm going to do everything I can to pass it. I've always been for it.

Thirdly, I believe that we should do more to provide tax relief to middle class families, especially with children, although I would remind you that we did provide substantial relief last time with no help from members of the other party. And—wait a minute—70 percent of the tax relief in the contract goes to upper income people.

But my fundamental problem is how it all fits together. On the balanced budget amendment, I've lived under a balanced budget amendment. The problem with the way the balanced—it depends on how it's written. But no matter how it's written you've still got to lower the deficit, I mean—and cut the size of Government. It was the Democrats, we've cut the size of the Government. When the Republicans were in, they didn't cut the size of the Government. The Federal Government has 70,000 fewer people working for it today than it does on the day I became President. It's going to have 270,000 fewer people working over a 6-year period. It will be the smallest Federal Government since Kennedy. We are shrinking the Federal Government. We are doing that, and we are doing it in a good way. So yes, I'm for that.

And insofar as those ideas are in there, I am fine on them. But here is the problem. My problem is it doesn't add up. You cannot promise that in a fixed period of time, you're going to cut everybody's taxes, raise defense, bring back Star Wars, and balance the budget. That is exactly what we heard before. It is almost exactly what we heard before. And what did we get? The debt of this country was quadrupled in 12 years.

A lot of the isolated elements are very popular, and they sound wonderful. But when you add it up, you wind up with more deficits, which will take the economy down, cause massive—I'm talking massive—cuts in all Government programs, including education and Medicare and other things, we're not talking about minor things. We're talking about huge cuts. You'll still have a bigger deficit. The economy will be weaker, and we'll go right back where we were when we tried this before. That's my problem, not the specifics. The specifics sound great. But the package is cynical because when you say, "How are you going to pay for it?" "I'll tell you later." And it's the same thing as it was before. It's more red ink when we ought to be investing and growing. That's the way to put the American people first.

Q. First of all, I'd like to say, I think you're doing a great job, and I'm proud that you're my President.

The President. Thank you.

Let me say before you ask your question, I'm glad to have this opportunity to have this kind of discussion. And I want people who disagree with me to ask their questions. And I don't believe that any party or group has a monopoly on political wisdom. But I'll tell you something, when you hired me to be President, you knew that no matter who was President, this country had a lot of serious problems, and we had to face them, and that all the solutions wouldn't be popular. If it were easy, somebody would have already done it. The only thing I don't want you to do is to fall into the path of just taking another easy way out.

Go ahead. I'm sorry.

Q. That's okay. [*Laughter*]

The President. Go ahead.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. In light of the recent events that are going on in Israel and your upcoming trip, what kind of assistance will you give to or pressure will you put on Arafat to control what's going on in terms of the violence coming out of the territories?

The President. That's an excellent question, first of all. Let me tell you a little about my trip, so I can answer that question. The King of Jordan and the Prime Minister of Israel are going to sign this peace agreement in a couple of days, and they've asked the United States, the President, to be the witness of it because we worked so hard on it.

I'm going to go to Cairo to see President Mubarak, who's been a real partner of ours in this Middle East peace process, and to visit with Chairman Arafat there in Egypt about all the issues you just raised. I'm also going to Syria, as you know, to hope to make further progress there because until we have a peace with Syria, we can't get a peace with Lebanon and a comprehensive peace in the area.

There are two questions in the question you asked. One is the question you asked, what are you going to do to see that Chairman Arafat keeps his commitments under the agreement he made with Israel? The second question is, what can we do to increase his capacity to keep those commitments?

Keep in mind, the really difficult thing in this Middle East peace package is, if Israel

makes an agreement with Jordan, they are two nations, with two systems of law enforcement, two armies, two sets of borders. They can—they have a real capacity to enforce their agreement, the same as if we can ever get this agreement with Syria or with Lebanon; you will have borders, armies, institutions, law enforcement.

With the agreement with the PLO in the West Bank and—I mean, in Gaza and Jericho—I mean, in Jericho and the West Bank, you have only the beginnings of the capacity to honor this. Now, when Corporal Waxman was kidnapped, I believe that Mr. Arafat really made an effort to help find out where he was and to share intelligence with the Israelis, and it was a good first step. But I will press him to honor the agreements in spirit and letter, but we also have to develop his capacity to honor the agreements. That is very important because, keep in mind, the PLO had never—not only never run a police force or an army before but never had to see the lights come on or do all the things Mayor White has to worry about: does the sewer system work; does the water system work; what is the order and structure of events?

So the challenge is not only to get them to want to keep their commitments but to ensure that they can keep their commitments.

Q. Good afternoon, Mr. President. First of all, I'd like to say I'm a native of Camden, Arkansas, a Razorback, 45 miles from Hope, Arkansas.

The President. Thank you.

Q. Watermelon capital of the world. [*Laughter*]

The President. The chamber of commerce thanks you.

Communication of Administration Accomplishments

Q. All right. I am a staff rep with the international union of Communication Workers of America—President Morton Bahr, out of Washington, DC, headquarters; Jeff Rechenbach, our newly elected vice president here in district 4.

My question is—and you already alluded to most of what I'm going to say—all the good things you're doing leading our country,

good things, signing the bill, the family leave bill, the crime bill, and also you just signed the education bill the other day. Why—I'm getting to the question—[*laughter*—I want to know why you're not getting that—the media, rather, is not getting that out for all the good things. All we are hearing is the negative side of it.

The President. Well, I told my press conference the other day in Washington that I arranged it that way because I didn't want to peak too soon. [*Laughter*]

It's a complicated thing, really it is. Let me—it is a complicated thing. First of all, there is a highly political chain of communication on the other side of people that disagree with me about everything, and they have their own kind of media outlets. And the Democrats really never developed such a thing in the time when we didn't have the White House and I think didn't appreciate it because the—the national media tends to be—during the—while Congress is there, the things that go on longer get more coverage than the things that go on shorter. So if you pass a bill and it's good news, it's news for one day or maybe one night on the television, and then it's gone. If you have a bloodbath over health care for 4 months, you hear about it every day. And you remember what Mark Twain said, that there are two things people should never see, sausage and laws being made. [*Laughter*]

And I think sometimes just the—it's hard to see the forest for the trees sometimes. And I think that, you know, I need to give more thought about what my responsibility in this is, how I can do a better job of communicating with the American people, getting this information out. But it's always easier when the Congress goes home because then I can go out and have meetings like this, we can talk, and we can communicate.

It is one of the great frustrations of the job, you know, because all the research shows that only a very small percentage of the American people know about the family leave law or the middle class college loans or the apprenticeship programs or immunizing all the kids in the country under 2 or the Head Start program. Senator Glenn showed me an excerpt from Time magazine which said that this Congress had enacted

a higher percentage of my proposals than any Congress had done for a President since the end of World War II, except for President Eisenhower's first 2 years and President Johnson's first 2 years. And I dare say nobody in America knows that.

So I would say I have to do a better job of that. I think sometimes, you know, I get so busy working on things I forget that the American people hired me to communicate with them as well as to work. And frankly—and our adversaries, if they just want to stop us from doing things, then they don't have to do as much work as we do because all they have to do is just keep saying no out in the country, so it's easier. They have an easier burden than I do because they don't have to get anything done if they just want to stop things.

So I just have to do a better job. And any of you got any good ideas about how I can do a better job of communicating, I'd like to have them. I'm not as good a talker as I thought I was when I got this job. [*Laughter*]

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, I'm Tom Corey from Brook Park, Ohio. And I want to add our welcome to you, as well.

The President. Thank you.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. My question is the Middle East again, back to that, Lebanon, and how soon do you think we can expect a treaty between Lebanon and Israel? And the second part of the question is, can we get the travel ban to Lebanon lifted? And then, I believe you are more than a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Thank you.

The President. First of all, I think there will be a peace with Lebanon, for reasons that you clearly understand by the question you asked. Peace with Lebanon will probably come about the time peace with Syria does. I think we have some chance of getting there. I wouldn't expect some sort of immediate breakthrough; I don't want to unduly raise expectations. But we are making good, steady progress. And I think it is very much in the interests of the people and the governments of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel to keep going with the peace process. I cannot set a time

for you on that. If I knew, I probably couldn't say, but I don't know.

But I can tell you, we're making good progress. The travel ban is an issue which will come up. We are trying to take these issues one by one, as we can. I'm encouraged by the travel that's going back and forth in other countries now, especially between Israel and Jordan. I'm encouraged by the lifting of the embargo against Israel by the GCC countries. So this is another barrier that will surely fall; even though I can't tell you when, I think it'll be sooner rather than later because we seem to be on a pretty good roll here.

If the people of Israel can keep their courage up and the people of the Middle East can keep their courage up and we won't be intimidated by these terrorists and enemies of peace, I think we'll get there in a reasonable time. And I thank you for your question.

Q. Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, this will be the last question.

Health Care Reform

Q. President Clinton, my question is about health care and how it might be paid for. My proposal is that to keep the taxpayers constantly informed as to the cost of health care, that a national sales tax be put on every purchase at the retail level, and that this—if the expenditures on health care increase or if they decrease, then that this is—as quickly as possible be reflected in the amount of the percent of the tax; also that tax stamps be put out—Ohio wants to do that—so the people knew they were paying for the program. So, sir, to keep the taxpayers informed, I think the regular tax and the sort of thing should be adjusted as a function of time and as a function of the total expenditures.

Would you comment, sir? *[Laughter]*

The President. Well, there are—I know you're laughing, but there are some people in the Congress who think that health care should be funded that way, too, with a national—some sort of national sales levy.

Let me tell you what my problem with it is. My problem with it is that we are already, let me say again, we are already spending 14 percent of our income on health care.

Canada spends 10; Germany and Japan are a little under 9 percent of their income.

Now, part of the reason we spend more is that we have higher rates of AIDS and higher rates of violence and higher rates of some other health problems than they do. So if we had more people showing up at the emergency rooms in Cleveland that are cut up or shot or have drug problems, just to take three, we're going to pay more for health care.

But a lot of it is because our system is so incredibly inefficient in so many ways. And the problem I've always had with just passing some sort of a tax to cover the uninsured is that you just build in all the inefficiencies into the system and you force the people who are already—many of whom are already paying more than their fair share for health care to pay for everybody else's health care as well, without knowing whether they're going to pay their fair share.

So there are a lot of people, good people, who agree with the proposal that you have outlined. But I'm just reluctant to embrace it until I believe we've done more to build in some competitive pressures to take waste out of the system and to make sure the people who can pay their own way are doing their own part before we ask the rest of Americans to do anything for them.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. at the Statler Tower Building. In his remarks, he referred to Steve Smith, club president; Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland; Representative Eric Fingerhut; King Hussein of Jordan; Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel; and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

Remarks at a Reception Honoring Representative Tom Sawyer in Akron, Ohio

October 24, 1994

Thank you. Thank you so much for being so enthusiastic. I thank Congressman Sawyer and Joyce and Mayor Plusquellic and Deputy Mayor Jackson. Thank you for helping us get through this today. Bless you. Joel and Susan Hyatt and our wonderful Senators here,

Howard Metzenbaum and John Glenn. I'm glad to be here with all of you.

The last two times I've been to Akron, I've been in two of the most interesting buildings I've ever been in. You know, we had the campaign rally in the air dock. Do you remember that? I am sure—it was really good for me. It was calculated both to make me ecstatic and to keep me humble because we were ecstatic that we had 50,000 people there and humbled that the building was 80 percent empty. *[Laughter]* It was amazing. And this place is magnificent and a great treasure for you. And I'm honored to be here.

I've had a great day today with Tom already. We've been to Inventure Place. And I'm looking forward to coming back when the Inventure Place is open, full of inventions that I can come play with.

As all of you know, I am here in behalf of Tom Sawyer tonight and in behalf of Joel Hyatt and so many others who want to make this country a better place. I have much to be grateful for in the incredible contribution and support that Senator Glenn and Senator Metzenbaum have provided. And I want to thank them, as well.

You know, this is an unusual election. I think that's putting it mildly. *[Laughter]* I went to Washington 21 months ago with a charge from you to try to change this country, to try to get America into the 21st century able to compete and win, to rebuild the American dream, to help us go through this period of remarkable change in a way that would bring this country and our people out on top, to forge a new partnership between our National Government and our citizens and our businesses, not with the Government pretending to be able to solve all the problems or with the Government sitting on the sidelines but walking hand-in-hand into a brighter and better future.

And I committed to you that I'd try to do three things if you voted for me: I'd try to make the Government work for ordinary Americans again, to reward work and family, to make a serious stab in the fight against crime and our social problems, and to build up the strength of our people; I'd try to bring back the economy, to reduce the deficit and increase jobs and move us forward; I'd try to make the world a more prosperous and

a more peaceful place. And I leave it to you to decide how well we've done. But here are the facts, thanks to the leadership of the people on this stage.

We passed the family and medical leave law. It helped almost a million people in this State to take a little time off when they need it. We passed an expansion of Head Start and immunizations for all children under the age of 2 by 1996. We gave tax relief to a half a million Ohio families who have children in the home, work full-time, but are just above the poverty line because we don't think anybody who's working full time and raising their kids should fail and should be in poverty. We think people should succeed as workers and succeed as parents. That's rewarding work and family.

We passed the Brady bill and the crime bill to make a serious assault on crime. And I might say, I want to thank the mayor for his support. I want to thank the Congressman for his support. And I want you to know that I signed that bill only about 3 weeks ago, and the city of Akron has already received assistance to hire more police officers to go on the street, to lower the crime rate here in Akron because of the crime bill.

And perhaps most important, and thanks in no small part to Tom Sawyer, we have begun to give the American people the kind of educational help they need to develop a system of lifetime learning, so that when places like Akron get hit with what you faced in the 1980's again, we will have a system that will enable people to continuously learn and relearn new skills from the get-go so we will not have to pass through a dark night of despair.

Congressman Sawyer deserves reelection if for no other reason than his contribution to this education Congress. In 1991 he was the principal sponsor of the National Literacy Act. Look what happened in this Congress. We expanded Head Start. We passed the Goals 2000 legislation to establish national education goals but to support grassroots reform because we know he knows, since Joyce is a teacher—*[applause]*—yes, you can clap for her, she probably deserves more credit than the rest of us do. This is a very important point. For the first time in a long time, the Federal Government recognized that the

magic of education occurs in the classroom, between the teacher and the parents and the students. That's what works. And we passed the elementary and secondary education bill which cuts out all kinds of Federal rules and regulations and lets the schools decide how best to spend Federal money to make sure all of our children learn. It is a very important piece of legislation.

We passed legislation to help make our schools safer, to give schools the opportunity to get together with grassroots community leaders and decide what basic values of citizenship and character they want to teach in the school and not run away from that but run toward it to give all of our kids a common foundation of good citizenship. We passed legislation to have every State in the country set up a national system, State by State, of apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college but want to get good jobs. And finally, we made 20 million Americans eligible for lower interest, longer-term college loans so the middle class of this country need never walk away from a college education again. And he was a leader in all that.

On the economy, as I told the Cleveland City Club today, we brought the deficit down, we increased investment in new technologies and in education and training. We've had 4.6 million new jobs. The unemployment rate in Ohio has dropped 1½ percent since I have been President. Ninety percent of those jobs are in the private sector. And this year, here's the real good news, for the first time in a very long time more than half the new jobs coming into the American economy were above the national average in wages, above the national average.

If you look at the world, this is a more prosperous and peaceful place. We passed NAFTA. We negotiated the GATT world trade agreement. We are reaching out to Asia. We are reaching out to Latin America. We took controls off all kinds of exports so we could sell more high-tech products. We are reaching out to the rest of the world. And this is plainly a more peaceful place because of what the United States has been involved in. For the first time since nuclear weapons were developed, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of Ohio and the United States this year. We are leading the

fight for democracy in Haiti, for freedom in the Persian Gulf, for an end to the war in Northern Ireland, and yes, for peace in the Middle East. The United States is making this world a more peaceful place.

We've got a long way to go, folks. And we've got a lot of problems to solve. But this country's in better shape than it was 21 months ago, and you should reward the people who are helping.

Now, here's the real rub. If all this is true, why aren't we happier? What is going on here? I'll tell you one thing, one thing Thomas—I mean, Mark Twain once said that the American people—[laughter]—I started to say Tom Sawyer. Maybe it was Huck Finn. Maybe it was old Jim. [Laughter] But Mark Twain once said, "You know, the American people should never have to see two things, sausages and laws being made." And sometimes I think all we do is concentrate on the negative. And then there are people in this country today who only communicate with us through what is known as attack journalism, unconstrained by the facts, designed to destroy arguments, credibility, to make people more cynical, to get them upset. And to be fair, our opponents have had more time to badmouth than we have had to defend, because we've been working. And when they're not trying to help, they have a lot of free time. [Applause] That's right.

What do they offer? I want you to think about this. When you think about Joel Hyatt and his opponent for the Senate—and you ask John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum if I'm not telling the truth. I want you to think about this, what have they offered? They have offered "No." Right? They all voted against the middle class college loans. They voted against the tax relief to working people. Their leaders tried to beat and mostly voted against the family leave law, the Brady bill. They did everything they could do to kill the crime bill. They said no.

And at the end of this session of Congress—this is important, because they just stepped on things important to our country and to your legislators—they decided that they would kill every living thing they could. Right before they decided that, we did get through John Glenn's procurement bill to change the way the Government buys things.

We're going to save hundreds of millions of dollars—no more \$500 hammers, no more \$50 ashtrays—thanks to Senator Glenn.

But then they decided they would say no. And they brought up the filibuster, which means 41 Senators can kill anything the rest of America wants. They killed campaign finance reform. They killed lobby reform that a freshman Congressman from Ohio, Eric Fingerhut, had so much to do with. He ought to be reelected, if for no other reason than carrying on this courageous fight to reform the lobbying practices in Washington, DC.

They killed all the environmental legislation. They even killed the Superfund bill. You know, the Superfund bill, folks, is designed to clean up toxic waste dumps. I want you to listen to this. You think about this every time you think about Joel Hyatt and his opponent between now and election day, his opponent who said he can't wait to get up there and get in with that crowd so he can stop things, too. Now the Superfund bill was supported by the chemical companies, by the labor unions, and the Sierra Club. They've never been for anything together before. *[Laughter]* You could not get that crowd to agree on when the Sun's coming up tomorrow morning. But they were for this. As a matter of fact, no one in America was against the Superfund bill except more than 40 Republican Senators. And why were they against it? Because they would have rather left the poison in the ground than let Tom Sawyer come home to Akron and tell you he helped to clean it up. That is wrong, and we should stop it. That is wrong.

And if you don't like what they did to kill campaign finance reform, lobby reform, the Superfund bill, all the other environmental legislation, you have a way to send the message. You can send Tom Sawyer back to the House, and you can send Joel Hyatt to the United States Senate. And you will tell the American people that Ohio wants things to be done, not things to be stopped.

Now let me just say this. Today in Cleveland, I had the opportunity to engage a Member of the House of the other party and his administrative assistant, who apparently by lottery out of hundreds of people drew questions one and two to get to ask me—*[laughter]*—and it was fine, but they wanted to talk

about their contract for America and to complain that I had called it a contract on America. And they said, "Well, there are things in this contract that you like; you're for the line-item veto." And I am. "You're for welfare reform." I am, I sent legislation to Congress in March to change the whole welfare system and move people from welfare to work. "You're for giving more tax relief to the middle class. You're for shrinking the Government. Why aren't you for our contract?" I want you to know why. That was a very clever question they asked. They took all the popular things out of their contract. But what their contract does is to promise a huge tax cut, a big defense increase, an increase in Star Wars, and a balanced budget. And when I said, "Well, how are you all going to pay for this?" They said, "Well, we'll tell you that after the election." *[Laughter]*

It's a trillion dollar promise they've made. And it sounds familiar doesn't it? "Vote for me. I'll cut your taxes, raise spending, and balance the budget, with no consequences." We tried that once. It didn't work out too well.

You know what it means. It means we're going to explode the deficit after we got it down, coming down 3 years in a row for the first time since Truman was President. It means that we are going to ship our jobs overseas. It means we're going to have to gut a lot of programs. They specifically call for cutting the college loan program 3 years in a row, when we need more kids going to college, not fewer. This is a bad idea, this contract. This is a bad idea.

So what is going on? We don't want to go back. We need to go forward. We don't want to reward the blame crowd. We want to reward the crowd that wants to take responsibility for this country. We want to reward people that want to empower Americans, not people that want to grab power by telling us what we want to hear. Shoot, I'd like to promise you a trillion dollars' worth of stuff. It's 2 weeks before the election. I mean, we could have a good time on a trillion dollars worth of hot checks. *[Laughter]* But it would be wrong. She would pay the bill. We would set up the risk of setting us right back where we were in the trickle-down eighties. It would be wrong. You need to

think about this in terms of what you do between now and the election for Senator and Congressman.

You know, if Tom Sawyer were a Republican running for reelection and he had voted—[*laughter*—now, listen, this is serious because you—we're preaching to the saved here; you've got to go out and convert—[*laughter*—so you need to listen to this. If he were a Republican running for reelection who had voted to reduce the Federal Government to its smallest size since Kennedy was President, to give us 3 years of deficit reduction for the first time since Truman was President, for the toughest crime bill in the history of the country, and for economic policies that literally exploded the economy and drove down unemployment in Akron and throughout Ohio, the Republican Party would be building a statue to him and saying no one should run against him. That's what they should be doing anyway because that's what he voted for. Now, that's the truth.

So what is all this rhetoric? It's just a bunch of stuff. But if you talk loud enough, long enough, and people are upset enough, maybe it gets across. I want you to think about this. This is the last point I want to make, because I want you to do something besides stand here and cheer me. I like that, and it's a new experience for me, having been in Washington—[*laughter*—but that's not what I want you to do. I want you to think about all your friends and neighbors in Ohio who don't have their minds made up or even think maybe they're going to vote against the Congressmen or not vote for Joel or anybody else you know in these other districts, like young Mr. Fingerhut who has done so much.

I want you to think about this. I got to thinking, what's my job like today, and is it like any job I ever held before? And I thought, well, you know, I've done a lot of things for a living. I mean, from the time I was a little kid, I've worked in a grocery store; I had a wholesale comic book business; I've mowed lawns, cleared land, built houses. I mean, I've done a lot of different things. I was a Governor. And I thought, well, maybe it's like being a Governor, but it's not really.

The job that I think I should be doing now that is most like what I've done before was something I didn't make money for. It was when I was in junior and senior high school. When I was in little clubs, we would raise money by doing car washes. And I was the guy that liked to clean the windshield. That's about what I need to do today.

You think about that. If you're driving a car and the windshield is real dirty, it could be sunshine outside and you'd think it was about to storm. It could be clear way ahead, and you would think that there are all kind of obstacles in the way. Or there could be a real obstacle in the way, and you'd run smack dab into it because you couldn't see it. That's where we are in America today. We need to clean the windshield off. We need to turn the lights on in this country. This is a very great country, and we are moving in the right direction. And we need to reward that, not punish it. And that's what you need to do. That's what you need to do.

So I want you to think about that. And I want you to clean the windows for Tom Sawyer and clean the windows for Joel Hyatt. Most importantly of all, clean the windows for your fellow Ohioans and your fellow Americans. You cannot blame people for being torn up and upset. Look at how they get their information and what they hear. Go out and find people that you know and tell them to take a deep breath. Tell them a joke; buy them a cup of coffee; get them to where they think. And remember that even parents don't let their children make decisions when they are angry. You almost always make a mistake. And imagine that between now and November 8th, everybody you see is an opportunity for you to clean the windshield and turn the lights on. America deserves it, and so do you.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. at the Akron Civic Theater. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Donald L. Plusquellic and Deputy Mayor for Intergovernmental Relations Dorothy Jackson of Akron.

Statement on the Presidential Election in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

October 24, 1994

I congratulate President Gligorov on his election to a second term as President of his country. Under his able leadership, I am confident the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will continue on its path toward full integration into the international community of nations. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has upheld the principles of democracy and has courageously embarked on a bold program of economic reform and renewal. Despite strong external economic pressures which have caused great hardship, President Gligorov and his countrymen have shown a determination to continue on the path to free market democracy.

I am pleased that international observers to the recent elections concluded that the first round of elections were conducted in an overall free and fair manner. The second round of parliamentary elections, scheduled for the end of this month, will be the next important step in the FYROM's democratic development. It is our hope that they will take place in a free and peaceful environment.

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's peaceful political and economic development is essential to stability in the Balkans. The United States has taken numerous steps to support that development, including sending U.S. troops to participate in a U.N. peacekeeping mission there, establishing a liaison office in Skopje, and increasing our economic assistance under the SEED program in fiscal year 1995. I have instructed my Special Envoy, Matthew Nimetz, to redouble his efforts in the weeks ahead, in tandem with U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance, to help Skopje and Athens resolve their differences. We will continue to work with other friends of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the months ahead to try to help bridge the country's balance-of-payments gap so that programs prepared by the IMF and World Bank can go forward.

Proclamation 6748—National Consumers Week, 1994

October 24, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The American marketplace is the great engine of our free enterprise system. Ever-expanding as it evolves in response to consumer needs and desires, it inspires technological innovation and the development of new products and services, and it rewards efficiency and productivity. The framers of our Constitution sought to establish a free market in which competition, ingenuity, and productivity would flourish. Today, it is more apparent than ever that their intent has been realized—Americans can choose from the greatest variety of goods and services in the history of the world.

This extraordinary economic machine works most efficiently when we as consumers are at the controls: when our choices and decisions, our requirements and collective will determine the direction and the workings of the marketplace. But individuals and the Nation's economy suffer when products and services are ineffective, inferior, or unsafe; when prices are unfair; and when consumer needs for reliable information and protection are unmet. If such abuses were to become common, the consequent loss of faith in our free market system would jeopardize our American way of life.

On March 15, 1962, President John F. Kennedy acknowledged the centrality of consumers in our marketplace in his Special Message to Congress on Protecting the Consumer Interest.

The Federal Government—by nature the highest spokesman for all the people—has a special obligation to be alert to the consumer's needs and to advance the consumer's interests.

Since then, what has come to be called the Consumer Bill of Rights has evolved as our marketplace has evolved. At present, it includes:

(1) The Right to Safety—the right to expect that the consumer's health, safety, and financial security will be protected effectively in the marketplace;

(2) The Right to Information—the right to have full and accurate information upon which to make free and considered decisions and to be protected against false or misleading claims;

(3) The Right to Choice—the right to make an informed choice among products and services in a free market at fair and competitive prices;

(4) The Right to Be Heard—the right to a full and fair hearing and equitable resolution of consumer problems; and,

(5) The Right to Consumer Education, added by President Gerald R. Ford in 1975—the right to continuing consumer education without which the consumer cannot enjoy the full benefit of the other enumerated rights.

In the 3 decades since President Kennedy's message, our marketplace has changed. Innovations in such vital areas as materials and electronics, telecommunications technology, health care, food processing and packaging, and financial services; the increasingly fast-paced global economy; and the urgent need to preserve our environment have altered what we buy as well as how we buy. The technological complexity of much of what we buy and, frequently, the distance between buyer and maker or seller have expanded the importance of service. Americans understand that service means the commitment to consumers that their experiences in the marketplace will meet all reasonable expectations of civility, responsiveness, convenience, performance, and fairness.

I propose that for National Consumers Week, 1994, we, as a Nation, declare an additional consumer right:

(6) The Right to Service—the right to convenience, courtesy, and responsiveness to consumer problems and needs and all steps necessary to ensure that products and services meet the quality and performance levels claimed for them.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 23, 1994, as "National Consumers Week." I urge all business persons, educators, members of the professions, pub-

lic officials, consumer leaders, and the media to observe this week by emphasizing and promoting the fundamental importance of consumer rights in our marketplace.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:50 a.m., October 25, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 26.

Memorandum on Implementation of Safe Schools Legislation

October 22, 1994

Memorandum for the Secretary of Education

Subject: Implementation of the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994, and the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act

Our schools are increasingly plagued by violence and crime that is abhorrent to all law-abiding citizens. It is of paramount importance that this Nation's schools be safe, disciplined, and conducive to learning.

Several laws passed this year will promote our effort to make schools safe for learning. The Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994 provides that within one year, every State receiving Federal aid for elementary and secondary education must have a law requiring school districts to expel from school for at least one year any student who brings a gun to school, subject to certain exceptions. The Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act funds comprehensive violence prevention programs, including those that enhance school security.

To ensure vigorous enforcement, I am directing you to coordinate implementation of these anti-violence measures with appropriate local authorities to the maximum extent possible. Your collaborative efforts should include the States, school districts, law enforcement agencies, and educators. In the case of the Gun-Free Schools Act, en-

forcement should include termination of Federal assistance if you determine that a State is not in compliance.

You should report to me in writing by December 31 on the specific steps you have taken to implement these statutes.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 25.

Statement on Signing the Small Business Administration Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 1994

October 22, 1994

Today I am pleased to sign S. 2060, the "Small Business Administration Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 1994." This Act will reauthorize programs of the Small Business Administration (SBA) for fiscal years 1995 through 1997, make meaningful program revisions, and authorize important new initiatives. By doing so, the Congress and my Administration are carrying out the plans we began in 1993 to make the SBA a leaner, more efficient, more effective organization that is focused on meeting the needs of all small businesses.

The Act will allow the SBA to continue to meet the growing demand for its loans and loan guarantees. This will help ensure that our Nation's small businesses have access to capital, which will enable them to prosper and create new jobs. The Act will also enable the SBA to expand and improve its innovative Microloan program, under which relatively small loans are provided to entrepreneurs by nonprofit intermediaries. Microloans are an important tool in the One-Stop-Capital-Shops that the SBA is establishing to bring relief to disadvantaged communities in the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities.

With the changes provided by this legislation, the SBA will be able to harmonize its export loan program with that of the Export-Import Bank to carry out its role in the trade agenda I outlined in the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee. Also of great importance is the new emphasis the legislation

places on assistance to women business owners, who are now creating businesses at a faster rate than their male counterparts.

Finally, S. 2060 will allow the SBA to provide relief from high prepayment penalties to borrowers under some of its programs. By revising the prepayment penalties and allowing the refinancing of these loans at more favorable interest rates, we will unleash the productive power of these companies by freeing up their resources for new production, new employment, and new contributions to our economy and tax base.

Again, I am pleased to sign this legislation, which is of great significance to our Nation's small business women and men.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 22, 1994.

NOTE: S. 2060, approved October 22, was assigned Public Law No. 103-403. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 25.

Remarks on Departure for the Middle East

October 25, 1994

Good morning. Today I embark on a mission inspired by a dream of peace, a dream as ancient as the peoples I will visit, a dream that now, after years of struggle, has a new chance of becoming a reality.

Tomorrow, in the desert between Israel and Jordan, two neighbors will agree to lay to rest age-old animosities and give a new future to their countries and their children. King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin will enter into an historic peace treaty. By their courage, they help their peoples, their region, and the entire world. They help to begin a final journey to peace in one of the most perilous conflicts of our age. By taking part in that ceremony, I will help to fulfill a mission pursued vigorously by the United States, by Presidents of both parties, since the end of World War II.

Peace in the Middle East is in our fundamental interests, and our continued participation in the peace process is crucial to its success. The signing ceremony I will wit-

ness grows out of the peace process we have helped to build.

The treaty between Israel and Jordan will be only the second full peace treaty between Israel and one of its Arab neighbors and the first ever signed in the Middle East itself. The roots of this process reach back to the Camp David accords between the late Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Menachem Begin of Israel, in which President Carter played such a pivotal role, and to the historic peace treaty they signed here 15 years ago.

But this trip is more than a celebration of another important step toward peace, it's an opportunity to pursue new steps. Israel and Jordan have shown that contact can overcome conflict and that direct talks can produce peace. My goal is to make clear that the time has arrived for all parties to follow the brave and hopeful inspiration of Israel and Jordan. With so much at stake, it is more important than ever for the United States to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with those who are taking risks for peace.

For all the progress toward peace, indeed, because of that progress, we have witnessed a new wave of terrorism and violence. No step on this long journey requires more patience, more discipline, more courage than the steps still to come. At this crucial moment, the people of the Middle East stand at a crossroads. In one direction lies the dark past of violence, terrorism, and insecurity that desperate enemies of peace seek to prolong. In the other lies a brighter future, a brighter future that Israel and all her Arab neighbors can achieve if they have the courage to stand up to violence, to terrorism, to mistrust, to build that future.

Above all else, I go to the Middle East to deliver one clear message: The United States stands by those who, in the words of the Psalms, "seek peace and pursue it." And we stand up to those who threaten to destroy the dream that has brought us to this historic moment.

Standing up for peace in this region includes countering the aggressive acts of Iraq's toward its neighbors. Like our troops around the world, the men and women of our Armed Forces stationed in Kuwait are the strength behind our pledge to support peace and security. They are doing a magnifi-

cent job, and I want them to know how proud all Americans are of their efforts. When I visit them on Friday, I know I'll carry the good wishes of all their fellow Americans, just as I know all Americans will pray this week for the progress toward peace as we witness this historic treaty and carry the peace process forward.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:42 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on Signing the Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act of 1994

October 25, 1994

I am pleased to sign H.R. 783, the "Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act of 1994," which will reauthorize the Visa Waiver Pilot Program, assist new refugees coming to the United States, improve laws relating to naturalization and citizenship, and speed the deportation of alien felons.

The Visa Waiver Pilot Program was established in 1988 to allow visitors from certain countries to travel to the United States without a visa. The countries participating in this program grant reciprocal privileges to American visitors. In 1993, more than nine million international tourists and business people from 22 nations traveled to the United States under this program. This Act will help to promote U.S. tourism by extending the Visa Waiver Pilot Program for 2 years.

The Federal Government provides approximately \$400 million annually to States and voluntary agencies to help provide for health, employment related services, English language training, and other resettlement needs of refugees. H.R. 783 will continue the authority for this program.

The Act also corrects a decades-old injustice to certain persons born outside the United States before 1934 of one U.S.-citizen parent and one noncitizen parent. Prior to the enactment of this Act, such persons could become U.S. citizens if the father was the citizen, but not if the mother was the citizen. H.R. 783 corrects this inequity and makes persons born before 1934 to a U.S. citizen

mother and alien father eligible for U.S. citizenship.

The Act allows for more rapid deportation of undocumented aliens who are convicted of serious crimes in the United States. The Act also adds certain crimes to the definition of aggravated felony. I sign this legislation with the understanding that convictions for crimes included in the existing law will be governed by the current effective date provisions, and that the effective date provision related to the expanded definition applies only to convictions for those crimes that have been added by this Act.

Finally, I note that section 221 of the Act, relating to visits to the United States by Taiwan officials, is in potential tension with my constitutional authorities concerning receipt of Ambassadors, recognition of governments, and the conduct of foreign policy. Section 212 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 ("INA") permits the Secretary of State to exclude aliens where admission would have potentially serious adverse foreign policy consequences. Were section 221 of the Act read to restrict this authority, section 221 would impermissibly impinge on my constitutional responsibilities.

Section 221 can be read in a manner consistent with the Constitution, however. Because the Congress has chosen not to modify section 212(a)(3)(C) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)(C), I will construe section 221 as expressing the Congress' own view that in the six circumstances enumerated, our foreign policy is better served by admitting these individuals, but ultimately leaving this determination to the Secretary of State under section 212 of the INA. It is in this manner, consistent with the Constitution, that I intend for this statute to be construed.

Accordingly, I am hereby directing the Secretary of State to weigh particularly carefully the foreign policy interests of the United States in considering any application by Taiwan's leaders to visit the United States in the six designated circumstances. These interests include maintaining the present peaceful conditions and robust economic climate in the Taiwan Strait region and the successful balance struck between our unofficial

relations with Taiwan and our relations with the People's Republic of China.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 25, 1994.

NOTE: H.R. 783, approved October 25, was assigned Public Law No. 103-416.

Statement on Signing the Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1994

October 25, 1994

Today, I have signed into law S. 1927, the "Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1994."

In signing S. 1927, I am pleased to extend a most deserved benefit to our Nation's service-disabled veterans and the surviving spouses and children of those who gave their lives in defense of our beloved freedoms. This Act not only maintains the value of benefits so dearly earned, but underscores a debt of gratitude that we can never fully repay.

S. 1927 provides a 2.8 percent increase in compensation and dependency and indemnity compensation benefits, effective December 1, 1994. This is the same percentage increase that Social Security beneficiaries and veterans' pension recipients will be receiving in January.

I salute the more than two and one-half million individuals who will directly benefit from this increase and all veterans and their families. Moreover, to those proud men and women still in uniform, our actions today bear witness to our Nation's commitment to you for your contributions to our security and well-being.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 25, 1994.

NOTE: S. 1927, approved October 25, was assigned Public Law No. 103-418.

Proclamation 6749—Immigration Measures With Respect to United Nations Security Council Resolution 942

October 25, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In light of the actions of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory they control, including their refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of United Nations Security Council Resolution 942 of September 23, 1994, I have determined that it is in the interests of the United States to restrict the entry to the United States of all aliens described in paragraph 14 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 942.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including sections 212(f) and 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1182(f) and 1185), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, hereby find that the unrestricted immigrant and nonimmigrant entry into the United States of aliens described in section 1 of this proclamation would, except as provided for in section 2 of this proclamation, be detrimental to the interests of the United States. I do therefore proclaim that:

Section 1. The immigrant and non-immigrant entry into the United States of aliens described in paragraph 14 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 942 is hereby suspended. These aliens are: (a) members of the authorities, including legislative authorities, in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces; officers of the Bosnian Serb military and paramilitary forces; and those acting on behalf of such authorities or forces;

(b) persons found, after September 23, 1994, to have provided financial, material, logistical, military, or other tangible support to Bosnian Serb forces in violation of relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions; and

(c) persons in or resident in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces found to have violated or contributed to the violation of the measures set out in United Nations Security Council Resolution 820 of April 17, 1993, and United Nations Security Council Resolution 942 of September 23, 1994.

Sec. 2. Section 1 shall not apply with respect to any alien otherwise covered by section 1 where the entry of such alien is in the interests of the United States, including where such entry has been approved as prescribed by paragraph 14 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 942.

Sec. 3. Aliens covered by sections 1 and 2 shall be identified pursuant to procedures established by the Secretary of State, as authorized in section 5 below.

Sec. 4. This proclamation shall take effect at 11:59 p.m. eastern daylight time on October 25, 1994, and shall remain in effect until such time as the Secretary of State determines that it is no longer necessary and should be terminated.

Sec. 5. The Secretary of State shall have responsibility to implement this proclamation pursuant to procedures that the Secretary may establish.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:58 p.m., October 25, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 27.

Executive Order 12934—Blocking Property and Additional Measures With Respect to the Bosnian Serb-Controlled Areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

October 25, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, in view of United Nations Security Council Resolution 942 of September 23, 1994, and in order to take additional steps with respect to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, I hereby expand the scope of the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12808 to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control, including their refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, hereby order:

Section 1. Notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses, which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order, all property and interests in property of: (a) the Bosnian Serb military and paramilitary forces and the authorities in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of those forces;

(b) any entity, including any commercial, industrial, or public utility undertaking, organized or located in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces;

(c) any entity, wherever organized or located, which is owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces;

(d) any person acting for or on behalf of any person included within the scope of paragraph (a), (b), or (c) of this section; that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches, are blocked.

Sec. 2. Notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses, which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order: (a) the provision or exportation of services to those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, or to any person for the purpose of any business carried on in those areas, either from the United States or by a United States person, is prohibited; and

(b) No vessel registered in the United States or owned or controlled by a United States person, other than a United States naval vessel, may enter the riverine ports of those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces.

Sec. 3. Any transaction by any United States person that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order is prohibited.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to me by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate the authority set forth in this

order to other officers and agencies of the United States Government, all agencies of which are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the date of this order.

Sec. 5. Nothing in this order shall apply to activities related to the United Nations Protection Force, the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, or the European Community Monitoring Missions.

Sec. 6. For the purposes of this order:

(a) The term "person" means an individual or entity;

(b) The term "entity" means a corporation, partnership, association, or other organization;

(c) The term "United States person" is as defined in section 5 of Executive Order No. 12810.

Sec. 7. Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 8. (a) This order shall take effect at 11:59 p.m. eastern daylight time on October 25, 1994.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 25, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
4:57 p.m., October 25, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 27.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders on
Additional Measures Against the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
(Serbia and Montenegro)**

October 25, 1994

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On May 30, 1992, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act

(IEEPA), 50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*, and the National Emergencies Act (NEA), 50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*, President Bush exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12808, declaring a national emergency with respect to the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro and blocking Yugoslav Government property.

On June 5, 1992, pursuant to the above authorities, as well as section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), and section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (UNPA), (22 U.S.C. 287c), the President exercised his statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12810, blocking property of, and prohibiting transactions with, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). This latter action was taken to ensure that the economic measures taken by the United States with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) conform to United Nations Security Council Resolution 757 of May 30, 1992.

On January 15, 1993, President Bush exercised his statutory authority under IEEPA, the UNPA, and the NEA to issue Executive Order No. 12831 to impose additional economic measures with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 757 of May 30, 1992, and 787 of November 16, 1992. Those additional measures prohibited transactions related to transshipments through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as well as transactions related to vessels owned or controlled by persons or entities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

On April 25, 1993, I exercised my statutory authority under IEEPA, the UNPA, and the NEA to issue Executive Order No. 12846 to impose additional economic measures with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 757 of May 30, 1992, 787 of November 16, 1992, and 820 of April 17, 1993. These additional measures blocked the property of businesses in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; charged owners or operators of property blocked under Executive Orders Nos. 12808,

12810, 12831, or 12846 all expenses incident to the blocking and maintenance of such property; ordered the detention; pending investigation, of all nonblocked vessels suspected of violating United Nations Security Council Resolutions 713, 757, 787, or 820 and the blocking of such conveyances or cargos if a violation is determined to have been committed; prohibited any vessel registered in the United States from entering the territorial waters of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; and prohibited United States persons from engaging in any dealings relating to the shipment of goods to, from, or through the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia and areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces.

On September 23, 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 942, which requires the imposition of additional measures on the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces due to their refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On October 25, 1994, pursuant to the above authorities, I expanded the scope of the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12808 to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States posed by the actions of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control and imposed additional measures in those areas to conform to United Nations Security Council Resolution 942 (1994).

The new Executive order:

—blocks all property and interests in property of (and transactions with): (1) the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of those forces; (2) any entity organized or located in the Bosnian Serb-controlled areas; (3) any entity, wherever organized or located, which is owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, the Bosnian Serb-controlled areas; or (4) any person acting

for or on behalf of any person mentioned above;

- prohibits the exportation or provision of services by United States persons to Bosnian Serb-controlled areas or to any person for the purposes of any business carried out in those areas;
- prohibits vessels registered in the United States or owned or controlled by United States persons from entering the riverine ports of the Bosnian Serb-controlled areas; and
- prohibits any transaction that evades or avoids or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions of the order.

In addition, this order authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to take such actions and to employ all powers granted to me by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the United Nations Participation Act as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the order, including the issuance of licenses authorizing transactions otherwise prohibited. The sanctions imposed in the order apply notwithstanding any pre-existing contracts, international agreements, licenses or authorizations.

The new Executive order is necessary to confirm our commitment to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia that preserves the territorial integrity of all the states there within their internationally recognized borders; to respond to the continued refusal of the Bosnian Serb party to accept the proposed territorial settlement accepted by the other parties; and to implement mandatory United Nations Security Council measures imposed on the Bosnian Serbs under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to urge them to accept the proposed territorial settlement unconditionally and in full.

The declaration of the national emergency made by Executive Order No. 12808 and the controls imposed under Executive Orders Nos. 12810, 12831, and 12846, and any other provisions of those orders, to the extent that they are not modified by or inconsistent with this new order, remain in full force and are unaffected by this order.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Statement on Technology Reinvestment Awards

October 25, 1994

Today, commercial firms are the source of many of the advanced technologies that are needed to keep our military the most powerful in the world. The winning projects I am announcing link commercial industry and defense needs to keep America strong, militarily and economically.

NOTE: This statement was included in a White House statement announcing the winners of Federal matching grants from the Technology Reinvestment Project.

Statement on Signing the Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act of 1994

October 25, 1994

Today I am pleased to sign S. 784, the "Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act of 1994." After several years of intense efforts, manufacturers, experts in nutrition, and legislators, acting in a conscientious alliance with consumers at the grassroots level, have moved successfully to bring common sense to the treatment of dietary supplements under regulation and law.

More often than not, the Government has been their ally. And the private market has responded to this development with the manufacture of an increasing variety of safe supplements.

But in recent years, the regulatory scheme designed to promote the interests of consumers and a healthful supply of good food has been used instead to complicate choices consumers have made to advance their nutritional and dietary goals. With perhaps the best of intentions agencies of government charged with protecting the food supply and the rights of consumers have paradoxically

limited the information to make healthful choices in an area that means a great deal to over 100 million people.

And so, an historic agreement was finally reached in the Congress this year that balances their interests with the Nation's continued interest in guaranteeing the quality and safety of foods and products available to consumers. This agreement was embodied in S. 784, legislation sponsored in the Senate by Senator Orrin Hatch and Senator Tom Harkin, in the House by Congressman Bill Richardson, and passed with the help of Senator Edward Kennedy, Congressman John Dingell, Congressman Henry Waxman, and scores of cosponsors in the House and Senate.

Simply said, the legislation amends the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to establish new standards for the regulation of dietary supplements including vitamins, minerals, and herbal remedies.

The passage of this legislation speaks to the determination of the legislators involved, and I appreciate their work. But most important, it speaks to the diligence with which an unofficial army of nutritionally conscious people worked democratically to change the laws in an area deeply important to them. In an era of greater consciousness among people about the impact of what they eat on how they live, indeed, how long they live, it is appropriate that we have finally reformed the way Government treats consumers and these supplements in a way that encourages good health.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 25, 1994.

NOTE: S. 784, approved October 25, was assigned Public Law No. 103-417. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 26.

The President's News Conference With President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt

October 26, 1994

President Mubarak. Good morning. It is a source of great pleasure for me to welcome

President Clinton and his able assistants in Cairo on behalf of the people of Egypt. We look upon President Clinton with great admiration and esteem. He's a man of courage and conviction, a man of ideals and action alike.

Since he has assumed his awesome responsibilities, he has demonstrated an exceptional ability to combine his evident concern of domestic matters with a genuine interest in foreign policy. Under his leadership, the United States has played a pivotal role in the maintenance of worldly peace and security. Such a role is indispensable in an era of profound change. It was only natural that the Middle East received much attention from the President and the American people.

During the past 2 years, much has been achieved on the road to peace. To a great extent, this was due to the active role the Clinton administration undertook with vigor and perseverance. And it has been a success story all along.

We are not unmindful of the obstacles that remain on the road to a comprehensive and lasting peace. But we are determined to pursue that goal with vigor and determination. As you move to consolidate the steps which were taken on the Palestinian and Jordanian tracks, we cannot lose sight of the centrality of the Syrian and Lebanese track. Today I discussed with President Clinton the necessity of making meaningful progress on these tracks. I assured our guests that President Asad is wholeheartedly committed to a just and honorable peace. So is the Lebanese leadership. Hence, we should spare no effort in order to reach that goal without delay. In the weeks ahead, we shall work together and more in harmony toward that end.

We must rekindle hope in the hearts of the peace-loving forces in the region. And with the same goal we must fight despair and violence. We deplore the killing of innocent people and attempts to spread fear and hatred. The time has come for healing all wounds of the past and of creating a better future for Arabs as well as Israelis.

President Clinton, you have made a great contribution to the solidification of the ever-growing friendship between our two nations. Through your words and deeds alike you have cemented our partnership for peace and

development. This role is highly appreciated by our people.

In our discussion this morning we explored new ways and means for strengthening our cooperation even further. We are determined to make it a stable and everlasting aspect of our policy.

In short, we are in agreement that this relationship, which is based on mutual respect and mutuality, is a constant element of progress and stability, a model for cooperation and solidarity among nations.

Much credit goes to you, Mr. President, and your vision and sound judgment. I wish you success in efforts you are exerting during this trip. Your decision to make Cairo your first stop is a good omen, for it is here in this proud city that the first and most difficult steps in decisions towards peace were taken.

May God Almighty bless your endeavor and guide your steps. Thank you.

President Clinton. Thank you. Thank you, President Mubarak.

It is fitting that we begin this day, which will include the celebration of a new peace between Israel and Jordan, in Egypt with President Mubarak. Egypt's courageous example set at Camp David and President Mubarak's tireless leadership in the peace process have paved the way to the historic progress we celebrate on this day. Mr. President, this region, indeed, the entire international community, owe to you and your nation a deep debt of gratitude. Egypt led the way. And I am proud to stand here with you, the United States is proud to stand with Egypt as partners in the pursuit of peace.

Today I reaffirmed to President Mubarak my commitment to do all I can to achieve a comprehensive settlement. The peace we seek calls on the parties to do more than lay down arms. We seek reconciliation between peoples, cooperation between governments, joined by a vision of shared destiny. The United States has walked each step with Egypt. Despite many sacrifices, the journey to peace has brought Egypt to better times. After so many years of conflict and so many casualties, no Egyptian has died in battle against Israel since 1973.

Now we're on the verge of seeing those and other benefits extend throughout the region. I salute President Mubarak for the cru-

cial role he has played in bringing the Palestinians and the Israelis together. Your work helped make possible the historic handshake between Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat in the White House last year.

To keep moving on that front, President Mubarak and I have just met with Chairman Arafat. We had a useful discussion about the need to fully implement the Declaration of Principles between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Israel. We reviewed the progress toward elections and the early empowerment of Palestinian authorities in the West Bank.

I made it clear that the United States places great importance on establishing strong and accountable democratic institutions. I also told Chairman Arafat that as the Palestinian administration starts to work on setting up a system to raise revenues, the United States will lead an international effort to support the Israeli-Palestinian agreement on early empowerment in the West Bank.

We also discussed a matter of great urgency, the absolute necessity to combat Hamas and all other extremist groups using terror to perpetuate hatred. We agreed that the same courage is needed to fight the enemies of peace that Chairman Arafat showed in making peace.

I want to reaffirm that the United States will stand with all friends of peace. Terrorists must not be allowed—must not be allowed—to intimidate the peoples of this region into abandoning the peace process. At this moment of opportunity, those who perpetuate violence pose the greatest threat to the Palestinian people and to all Arab people. The enemies of peace are desperate, but they must not defeat the hopeful forces of the future.

President Mubarak and I discussed our determination to stand as partners in this and many other efforts. We have worked on many things around the world in the past; we do in the present. I congratulated him again on the success of the remarkable population conference here at Cairo. We will continue to work together on many fronts, including the need to stand up and repel the Iraqi threat to Kuwait.

Our countries share a commitment to promote economic growth in Egypt as well. At

my request, the Vice President met with President Mubarak when he was in Cairo in September, and they initiated a new partnership for economic growth. Earlier this week our two countries agreed to establish a new committee to support this partnership. The Vice President will be saying more about that in the next few months. I believe he'll have the opportunity to come back here.

Again, let me thank President and Mrs. Mubarak for their gracious reception. And let me thank President Mubarak especially again for his leadership in this process. I am confident we would not be where we are today had it not been for him.

Thank you, sir.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. I'd like to ask both President Mubarak and President Clinton how Chairman Arafat responded to your saying that it is an absolute necessity to combat Hamas and other groups of terror and how both of you interpret Chairman Arafat's comment about the Israel-Jordan agreement, saying that those who support it should drink sea water?

President Mubarak. Chairman Arafat is very keen to put the violence of Hamas to an end. I remember when one of the events took place a couple of weeks ago, he did his utmost and he captured several of the people of Hamas when he heard that the man—the soldier is still in Gaza, although it proved that the man was not in Gaza. He came here the second day, and Secretary Christopher was here, and he told him about the effort which Arafat did to avoid this trouble. Hamas needs cooperation between both sides, so as not to spoil the peace process and the progress of peace in the area.

President Clinton. I felt that we got a very firm and unambiguous response. Certainly, the position that I took, the position that President Mubarak took was very firm and unambiguous. And Chairman Arafat said he would continue to do all he could to combat terrorism, specifically Hamas, but other groups as well. And I am satisfied with the response that he gave, and I believe he will attempt to implement it.

We discussed that and a whole range of other issues. But I believe, on this issue, he will continue to do that. He understands, I

think, clearly that Hamas is his enemy now, that once you become a partner in the peace process you have to fight for peace and those who seek to undermine it are seeking to undermine you. I think he clearly understands that. And I was satisfied with the answer I received. And we will have to now proceed to achieve the results. But I think the understanding there is clear.

Q. And what about the Israel-Jordan treaty, his response—

President Clinton. We did not discuss his comments yesterday. I can tell you this: I think that this is a great day, and I think that it will continue the process. And I agree with President Mubarak, we have to also move on with Syria and with Lebanon. But clearly, the peace process is moving in the right direction.

Q. U.S. President, you are the first American President to visit Syria in 20 years. Do you expect to narrow the gap between Israeli and the Syrian viewpoint or produce a breakthrough on this track before the end of 1994?

President Clinton. I expect that we will make some progress. I expect that we will narrow the gap. I do not expect this trip to Syria to produce a dramatic breakthrough in the immediate aftermath of the trip, but I believe we have made a good deal of progress in the last few months. I have been quite encouraged by that, and it is on that basis and my conviction that both President Asad and Prime Minister Rabin and their two peoples want to continue to work for peace that I go to Syria.

In terms of the timing of a breakthrough, I don't want to commit myself to that because that really is up to the parties. They must determine the substance and the timing. But I believe we should move as quickly as possible, and I am pushing it as quickly as possible. I cannot give you a date.

Q. President Clinton, earlier this week your Secretary of State spoke in Washington, and he talked about putting international pressure on Iran to deal with Hamas. He didn't name the Western states, but it's clear that there are some, perhaps including Germany and France, that are believed to be trading with Iran. What kind of international effort do you plan to lead to crack down on Iran? And I'm wondering whether President

Mubarak can talk about perhaps what the Arab world might be willing to do to put pressure on other terrorist states as well.

President Clinton. Well, first of all, let me say that what we want to do with regard to Hamas and these other terrorist groups is to try to move to put pressure on all points of support for them that we are able to determine. And that would include an effort that would go beyond Iran.

Obviously, there are things that can be done that are well-known to all of you in the form of refraining from having economic relations. And we're going to ask all of our friends throughout the world to support this, all the people who are the friends of peace and the enemies of terrorism. We ask them to recognize that they cannot have it both ways.

Q. President Clinton, in connection with terrorism, and also Chairman Arafat, how will the U.S. objectively evaluate what he is doing to combat terrorism? And is there any plan that the U.S. would have to peg the amount of money that it would raise for the implementation of the agreement between Israel and PLO to his cracking down on terrorism?

President Clinton. Let me answer the second part of that question first, because I think it's important to get this out. There was absolutely no discussion of tying any effort—of aid by the United States or the international community to this effort. The effort to combat terrorism is the first step that is the precondition to making the whole peace process work.

So we did discuss the need that we have always acknowledged and supported to continue with elections in the territories, to have economic development assistance. But there was no quid pro quo discussion. Chairman Arafat started the discussion himself with his desire to combat terrorist groups and with his willingness to do all that he could.

I think that we would all admit that it is impossible to guarantee 100 percent success in any effort. I mean, in the United States we're not 100 percent successful in combating crime or organized crime. What we want is 100 percent effort. And I think it will be obvious to the Israelis, who are partners in the peace process with the PLO, and to the United States and to the other parties wheth-

er that effort is being made. I must say that from my own observation, based on what our own people have told me, there has been an increasing effort in the last several weeks on the part of Chairman Arafat and the authorities in the territories to do what they can on this front. And I think it will continue to increase. And I think President Mubarak agrees with that.

President Mubarak. Yes, I agree with that.

Q. President Clinton, sir, what is the statement you're making after speaking so strongly against terrorism by visiting Syria, a country which the U.S. still labels as an advocate of terrorism?

And President Mubarak, please, did you discuss the issue of the sanctions imposed against Libya with President Clinton, and if so, do you hope for a lifting—a complete or partial lifting of these sanctions soon?

President Clinton. Let me answer the Syrian question first and then defer to President Mubarak.

Terrorism is still an issue between our two countries, and it cannot be ignored. But the most successful way to end terrorism in this part of the world is to have a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Syria is a partner in the peace process. We are making progress in that process. I believe President Asad wants a comprehensive peace and wants an end to terrorism as a part of that. And therefore, I think it would be a mistake for me not to take this opportunity, since I'm in the region, to try to go to Syria to further the peace process.

President Mubarak. Concerning the sanctions in Libya and Iraq, we just touched these two issues in general. They were on my agenda. We just had a very short discussion about it.

Q. Are we still at the status quo now as it is, or will there be developments with regards to these sanctions?

President Mubarak. This needs further discussion with the United States.

Q. The question from Egyptian television is addressed to the two heads of state. President Clinton, President Mubarak, what's the American viewpoint and the Egyptian viewpoint respectively on the delay on implementation of self-rule in the territories?

President Clinton. The American viewpoint is that we should proceed as quickly as we can. We want to have—we want to support the elections process, and we want to support the multinational development process in the territories. And we do support that. We also are very sensitive to and understand the security concerns of Israel. So one of the things that I had hoped to do in my meeting with Chairman Arafat, and again in my meetings in Israel, is to try to work through the differences on both sides about that so we can proceed with the elections and proceed with the development process. I think we should do it sooner rather than later, giving proper concern to the security needs of Israel.

President Mubarak. Concerning the Egyptian point of view toward this, we are with the continuation of the implementation of the declaration principles. But if we are going to respond to terroristic action, this will delay the peace process and this will not lead to any security and any comprehensive peace in the whole area.

Thank you very much.

Q. And Mr. President, please, did Chairman Arafat ask your assistance—to solve the problem of the holy places in Jerusalem between Jordan and Palestine?

President Clinton. No, we did not discuss that at all.

President Mubarak. Let's just leave it at that.

NOTE: The President's 75th news conference began at approximately 9:45 a.m. at El-Qubbeh Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Yasser Arafat, Chairman, Palestine Liberation Organization. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty at the Border Between Israel and Jordan

October 26, 1994

King Hussein, President Weizman, Prime Minister Rabin, Prime Minister Majali, Crown Prince Hassan, Foreign Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Mr. Secretary of State; to the people of Jordan and

Israel, with a special thanks to those who are our cheering section up there—[laughter]—we thank you all.

At the dawn of this peace of a generation, in this ancient place we celebrate the history and the faith of Jordanians and Israelis. But we break the chains of the past that for too long have kept you shackled in the shadows of strife and suffering. We thank those who have worked for peace before. We celebrate the efforts of brave leaders who saw the bright horizon of this dawn, even while the darkness lingered.

This vast bleached desert hides great signs of life. Today we see the proof of it, for peace between Jordan and Israel is no longer a mirage. It is real. It will take root in this soil. It will grow to great heights and shelter generations to come.

Today we honor the constant and devoted work of two courageous leaders, two who have risked everything so that their children and their children's children need fight nor fear no more.

King Hussein, today in this arid place, you bring to full flower the memory of the man who taught you to seek peace, your grandfather, King Abdullah. When he was martyred four decades ago, he left you with a great burden and a great dream. He believed that one day, on both sides of the River Jordan, Arab and Jew would live in peace. How bravely you have shouldered that burden and carried that dream. Now after so much danger and so much hardship, Your Majesty, your day has come. Truly, you have fulfilled your grandfather's legacy.

Prime Minister Rabin, you have spent a lifetime as a soldier, fighting first to establish your country and then for so long to defend it. For a lifetime, you have fought with skill and tenacity and courage, simply to achieve a secure and lasting peace for your people. Now you have given them the hope of life after the siege. In your own words, you have now given them the challenge to furnish the house of Israel and make it a home. As a general, you have won many battles through strength and courage. But now, through strength and courage, you command the army of peace, and you have won the greatest victory of all. We salute you.

As has been said before, this treaty is the product of many hands. Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres know better than any of us that peace does not spring full-grown. It requires cultivation. It requires patience and care. We salute their devotion and persistence, and the wise and determined counsel of Secretary Christopher. We are in all their debt, and we thank them.

I say to the people of Israel and Jordan: Now you must make this peace real, to turn no-man's land into every man's home, to take down the barbed wire, to remove the deadly mines, to help the wounds of war to heal. Open your borders. Open your hearts. Peace is more than an agreement on paper. It is feeling. It is activity. It is devotion.

The forces of terror will try to hold you back. Already they take deadly aim at the future of peace. In their zeal to kill hope and keep hatred alive, they would deny all that peace can bring to your children. We cannot, we must not, we will not let them succeed.

The United States stands with you. Since President Truman first recognized Israel, we have wished for and worked for comprehensive peace between Israel and all of her neighbors. On behalf of all Americans, including millions of Jewish and Arab Americans for whom this day means so much, I thank you for trusting America to help you arrive at this moment. The American people are very proud of the opportunity we have had.

And now let the work of progress bear fruit. Here at the first of many crossing points to be open, people from every corner of the Earth will soon come to share in the wonders of your lands. There are resources to be found in the desert, minerals to be drawn from the sea, water to be separated from salt and used to fertilize the fields. Here where slaves in ancient times were forced to take their chisels to the stone, the Earth, as the Koran says, will stir and swell and bring forth life. The desert, as Isaiah prophesied, shall rejoice and blossom.

Here your people will drink water from the same well and savor together the fruit of the vine. As you seize this moment, be assured that you will redeem every life sacrificed along the long road that brought us to this day. You will take the hatred out of

hearts, and you will pass along to your children a peace for the generations.

Your Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister, here in the great Rift Valley you have bridged the tragic rift that separated your people for too long. Here in this region, which is the home of not only both your faiths but mine, I say: Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:50 p.m. at the Wadi Araba border crossing. In his remarks, he referred to King Hussein, Crown Prince Hassan, and Prime Minister Abd al-Salam al-Majali of Jordan; President Ezer Weizman, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel; and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev of Russia.

Remarks to the Jordanian Parliament in Amman, Jordan

October 26, 1994

Your Majesties, Prime Minister Majali, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Parliament, citizens of Jordan, citizens of the United States:

Mr. President, thank you for that generous introduction. Your Majesty, thank you for welcoming me to your beautiful country and for giving me the opportunity to accept your kind hospitality after your many visits to our Capital.

I thank you all for the honor to address this assembly and to reflect with you on this historic day of peace. On this day, Your Majesty, descendent of the Prophet Mohammed, in making peace with your neighbor has done even more than fulfill the legacy of King Abdullah. You have sent a signal to the entire Arab world that peace is unstoppable.

On this day, in the desert of the great Rift Valley, the people of Jordan stepped out of the shadows of strife. You made a bold choice: You rejected the dark forces of terror and extremism. You embraced the bright promise of tolerance and moderation. You spurned those who would drag you back into the hostile past. You chose instead a future of opportunity and tranquillity for your children. The United States admires and supports the choice you have made. And we will stand with you in months and years ahead.

Today the people of Jordan pay homage to those who led the great Arab revolt for freedom, independence, and unity. You honor the memory of three generations of Jordanians who gave their lives in defense of your country, what Your Majesty has called the shattering toll in blood and tears, the waste of youth, and the grief of our forefathers.

In your address to our Congress 2 months ago, Your Majesty called for an end to the unnatural and sinister state that has spread fear and isolation. You urged your people to commit themselves to establishing a new, humane, and natural order. Now the people of Jordan have said: Enough of blood, enough of tears. It is time to move on. In the words of Your Majesty, they have said, "Let us make what is abnormal, normal."

All over the world people of different faiths and all walks of life celebrated this day. All over the world people of good will rejoiced at the leadership of King Hussein, who, with his courage, discipline, and vision, honored King Abdullah's wish as he embarked on his last journey to Jerusalem, when he said, "Do your very best to see that my work is not lost. Continue it in the service of our people." Now it can be said, Your Majesty has met King Abdullah's charge, and in so doing you are meeting the challenge of history and advancing the cause of peace throughout the Arab world.

Today's victory is also in keeping with the history of Jordan, which has long been a model for progress and a voice of moderation in the Arab world. From the beginning, when King Abdullah brought together disparate peoples in a united kingdom, following this path has never been easy for you. Yet in the midst of hard times and conflicts, you are building a society devoted to the growth of pluralism and openness. You have established a Parliament where all voices can be heard.

You have nurtured a growing partnership between Your Majesty and all Jordanian citizens. Your nation's commitment to pluralism has been matched by a remarkable generosity of spirit, for you have opened your doors to millions of your Arab brethren. And they have come here, year after year, seeking refuge in your nation, and here they have found

a true home. In return, they have enriched your economy and your culture.

My country, a nation of immigrants from every area of this world, respects your openness and your understanding that diversity is a challenge, but it can be a source of strength. America's commitment to Jordan is as strong tonight as it was when Your Majesty traveled to the United States for the first time 35 years ago and met President Dwight Eisenhower, the first of eight Presidents you have known.

The President and Your Majesty discussed the great threat that communism then posed to America and to the Arab world. And when President Eisenhower asked what America could do to help, Your Majesty said then, "We need more than anything else the feeling that we do not stand alone." Now, at a time when those who preached hate and terror pose the greatest threat to the cause of peace, President Eisenhower's response still holds true. Thirty-five years ago he told Your Majesty, "Our country knows what you have done. Believe me, we won't let you down."

Both of us, Jordan and America, are fighting the same battle. Today, that battle is the struggle for peace. And I say again, on behalf of the United States, we will not let you down.

From the outset, America's commitment to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East has been backed by a strong pledge that whenever Arabs and Israelis turned the page on the past, the United States would work with them to write a real, practical future of hope. Those who take risks for peace must not stand alone. We will work with Jordan to meet your legitimate defense requirements and to give you the security you deserve.

But for peace to endure, it must not only provide protection, it must produce tangible improvements in the quality of ordinary citizens' lives and, in so doing, to give those citizens a real stake in preserving the peace. The United States understands the need for peace to produce real benefits, and we are taking steps to meet that goal.

We have pledged to forgive all of Jordan's debt to our own Government, and we have encouraged, indeed urged, other countries to do the same. From one end of your border

with Israel to the other, the U.S.-Jordan-Israel Trilateral Economic Commission is preparing to invest in progress. Visionary designs to develop the great Rift Valley, ambitious projects to produce more energy and fresh water, new efforts to extract minerals from the Dead Sea, and exciting plans to encourage visitors to share the wonders of your lands, all these are being brought to life.

Making these dreams real, of course, will require new investment and new capital. To that end, the United States supports the creation of a Middle East bank for cooperation and development. And we will take the lead in consultations with governments within and beyond the region to ensure that the bank is properly structured. Our Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation is establishing a \$75 million regional investment fund to encourage American investment in projects like those in the Rift Valley. And the United States will actively pursue practical means of expanding trade and investment opportunities with Jordan. We will consider a wide array of measures, including a bilateral investment treaty, other trade arrangements, and other initiatives that will lessen barriers to trade and increase prosperity in your area.

These critical steps, and others to provide your citizens with the economic opportunities they deserve, are vital to building peace in Jordan and throughout the Middle East. If people do not feel these benefits, if poverty persists in breeding despair and killing hope, then the purveyors of fear will find fertile ground. Our goal must be to spread prosperity and security to all. After all, the chance to live in harmony with our neighbors and to build a better life for our children is the hope that links us all together. Whether we worship in a mosque in Irbid, a Baptist church like my own in Little Rock, Arkansas, or a synagogue in Haifa, we are bound together in that hope.

Yet, though we know in every corner of the world people share that hope, there are those who insist that between America and the Middle East there are impassible religious and other obstacles to harmony, that our beliefs and our cultures must somehow inevitably clash. But I believe they are wrong. America refuses to accept that our civiliza-

tions must collide. We respect Islam. Every day in our own land, millions of our own citizens answer the Moslem call to prayer. And we know the traditional values of Islam, devotion to faith and good works, to family and society, are in harmony with the best of American ideals. Therefore, we know our people, our faiths, our cultures can live in harmony with each other.

But in the Middle East, as elsewhere across the world, the United States does see a contest, a contest between forces that transcend civilization, a contest between tyranny and freedom, terror and security, bigotry and tolerance, isolation and openness. It is the age-old struggle between fear and hope.

This is the conflict that grips the Middle East today. On one side stand the forces of terror and extremism, who cloak themselves in the rhetoric of religion and nationalism but behave in ways that contradict the very teachings of their faith and mock their patriotism. These forces of reaction feed on disillusionment, on poverty, on despair. They stoke the fires of violence. They seek to destroy the progress of this peace. To them, I say, you cannot succeed. You will not succeed. You must not succeed, for you are the past, not the future.

The people of Jordan and all those throughout the Arab world who are working for peace are choosing progress over decline; choosing reason, not ruin; choosing to build up, not tear down; choosing tomorrow, not yesterday. The people of Jordan on this day, through King Hussein, have pledged themselves to a treaty based on a fundamental law of humanity, that what we have in common is more important than our differences.

This was the message of Moses' farewell address to the children of Israel as they gathered to cross the River Jordan when he said, "I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life so that you and your descendants may live." And it is the message the Prophet Mohammed brought to the peoples of other faiths when he said, "There is no argument between us and you. God shall bring us together, and unto him is the homecoming."

Today the people of Jordan and the people of Israel have reached across the Jordan River. They have chosen life. They have

made a homecoming. And tonight we say, thanks be to God, *Ilham du Allah*.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:32 p.m. in the Chamber at the Parliament. In his remarks, he referred to Ahmad Lowzi, President of the Senate, and S'ad Ha'il Srou, Speaker of the Lower House.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria in Damascus

October 27, 1994

Q. Gentlemen, do you think you will be able to agree on new steps toward peace today? President Asad?

President Asad. We hope so. If we don't have this desire we wouldn't have any incentive for such a meeting. And so the peace process needs efforts, and it always has its own difficulties. People think that with a magic word they might be able to achieve peace, but this is not possible.

President Clinton. Thank you. We're working hard.

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 9:15 a.m. at the Presidential Palace. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's News Conference With President Asad in Damascus

October 27, 1994

President Asad. President Clinton, ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to welcome President Clinton in Damascus, the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world, in the heart of the region which witnessed the dawn of human civilizations and the cradle of divine religions. This region whose peoples have long suffered, especially throughout the century, through the horrors of wars, the bitterness of conflict and bloodshed, hopes at last to enjoy peace and stability.

The visit of President Clinton at the head of the high-level American delegation to our country, and the positive and fruitful talks we had today constitute an important step towards the realization of this noble objective

to which the people of the region and the world at large aspire.

Our talks today have focused on the different aspects of the peace process and its developments. In this regard, I would like to express my deep satisfaction with the fact that our views were identical regarding the importance of achieving a comprehensive peace on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace and that the solution we seek has to be just in order to be stable and lasting.

I have reaffirmed to President Clinton the continued commitment of Syria to the peace process and her serious pursuit of a comprehensive and just peace as a strategic choice that secures Arab rights, ends the Israeli occupation of the Arab land in conformity of the Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 425, and enables all peoples of the region to live in peace, security, and dignity.

I also stressed to President Clinton—emanating from the principle, full withdrawal for full peace, I stressed to President Clinton the readiness of Syria to commit itself to the objective requirements of peace through the establishment of peaceful, normal relations with Israel in return for Israel's full withdrawal from the Golan to the line of June 4, 1967, and from the south of Lebanon.

In this context, the statement of President Clinton on the eve of his trip to the region asserting that no comprehensive peace can be achieved in the region without Syria is a realistic expression that reflects an international consensus regarding this fact. Our nation has sacrificed hundreds of thousands of martyrs, not out of love for war or fighting but in defense of its rights, dignity, and land. That's why we aspire today to transform the region from a state of war to a state of peace: a peace that engenders to each party its rights, ends occupation, saves the blood of the innocent, and preserves man's dignity; a peace that prevails throughout the region and enables its peoples, both Arabs and Israelis, to live in security, stability, and prosperity.

Finally, I would like to convey greetings to the American people through President Clinton and to thank President Clinton for his personal efforts and the efforts of his aides. I would like to express my readiness

to work with him for achieving a real, comprehensive, and just peace in the region.

Thank you.

President Clinton. I am glad to have had the opportunity to stop in Syria to meet with President Asad. After yesterday's signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, I came to Damascus today to continue working for our common goal of peace in the Middle East.

During our meeting this morning, President Asad and I affirmed our common commitment to that goal and want to accelerate progress toward our objective. Yesterday's signing represents an important step forward. But our job will not be done and we will not rest until peace agreements between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon are achieved.

A Syrian-Israeli agreement is key to achieving a comprehensive peace. Given Syria's important regional role, it will inevitably broaden the circle of Arab States willing to embrace peace. And it will build confidence throughout the area that peace will endure.

My talks here with President Asad are a sign of our mutual determination to achieve a peace of the brave as quickly as possible. The United States will do everything possible to help make that a reality.

For peace to endure, it must also be just. Peace between Israel and Syria must be based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace. Peace must also be real: more than mere words on paper; more than just the absence of war. Nations must establish normal peaceful relations.

Peace must also be secure for both sides. Security for one side should not come at the expense of the other's security. Peace must guarantee security against surprise attack by any side. And peace must enable the parties to invest in economic development, rather than military might.

All sides must enjoy stability and tranquility. Violence must cease. Borders must no longer be subject to aggression, terrorist infiltration, violent acts, or bombardment. The murderous acts of terror that we have witnessed over the past weeks have two targets: first, innocent people who have been killed and wounded; and second, the very

peace that President Asad supports. All who work for peace must condemn these terrorist acts. President Asad and I agree that the peace process allows no place for the killing of innocent civilians.

I also told President Asad of my desire to see the relations between our two nations improve. In an era of peace, improved relations would benefit both countries and improve regional stability and security.

Finally, I want to tell the Syrian people how very glad I am to have the opportunity to visit your country, if only briefly. Like your neighbors in Israel, you have waited too long and have suffered too much to be further denied the hope for a new and better future.

On behalf of the American people, I pledge that I will work with President Asad to do everything possible to make real this new and peaceful future.

Thank you.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. President Asad, you do seem to hold, in the minds of many, the key to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and you have now expressed the bottom line of what will be true peace in the Middle East. How do you intend to go about getting it? And how soon will it occur?

And President Clinton, do you agree that there should be a full withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Golan Heights to Lebanon and Syrian troops from Lebanon to make a real peace in the Middle East?

President Clinton. I think I answered the question in my statement. We believe that the peace between Israel and Syria must be based upon the United Nations Security Council resolutions. And we made some progress today in our own talks, the details of which, as you would expect, I am not free to discuss. But we are moving forward today, consistent with the United Nations Security Council resolutions, and we will continue to do it until we have a peace that is based on those resolutions.

President Asad. For a long time we've been moving according to a mechanism that pushes us to achieve the peace process. We are relying in this, as President Clinton said, on Security Council resolutions and on different activities undertaken by all the parties,

particularly the United States of America. We achieved a few things, and we didn't achieve other things. We are going to continue our pursuit in order to reach there, in this way or in any other more effective way, in order to achieve peace sooner.

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—security and stability of the region?*

President Clinton. I didn't get the translation. Am I on the wrong channel?

[*At this point, the question was repeated.*]

Well, first, as I said, I think the role of Syria in the security and stability of the region is absolutely critical. I don't think we can finish a comprehensive peace or maintain peace in the region unless there is peace between Syria and Israel. And I think the benefits that would come to the people of both countries over the next several years are enormous if such a peace can be achieved.

My view of President Asad, based on our two meetings and our many conversations over the telephone and his constant willingness to receive the Secretary of State and other representatives of the United States, is that he is committed to achieving peace. He is clearly a very effective and determined advocate for the interests of his country and its people. But I believe he wants peace, and I believe we will achieve it.

Q. President Asad, the majority of the Israeli public, according to the polls, does not believe it is physically safe to give up the Golan Heights. This mistrust has been added to by the fact that you haven't visited Israel; you haven't met with Mr. Rabin; there's no direct talks; you haven't spelled out the exact terms of peace; your support for 10 rejectionist groups in Damascus and Hezbollah. All this taken together, sir, I want to know what assurance can you give the Israeli public—now that you are able to address them through this press conference, they could hear you—what assurance can you give them that withdrawal will indeed lead to true peace and not to the next war? Thank you very much.

President Asad. The concern of any country in the world about its security does not justify for that particular country to preserve the lands of other states, of other countries. And countries which fought throughout his-

tory did not put conditions for achieving peace that one party should visit the other or should not visit the other.

The issue is not concerning a rhetorical or formal issue and not with a visit. There are people who visited Israel before, but he himself complained—when he was in office, he complained and went on for a long time before being able to reach a peace agreement with Israel.

The important point is that the assumptions or the attempts to confine the peace process to small things, to formal things concerning the visit of one party to the other, or that one of us is concerned about security and that he should arrive there or we should take them there—to be secure and not to have any concern from anything—this was never there in reality or in books.

There's nothing we have that proves our design for peace, except our saying that we want peace. And anyone who does not believe what we are saying, he would have no other way for peace. It would be him that does not want peace.

What also makes us believe that they want peace? We have many proofs which we have against them that they do not want peace and not us who don't want peace. Such matters to a certain extent were the subject of discussion and contemplation between me and President Clinton, and we are both convinced, as I believe, we are convinced that the United States is serious in pushing the peace process forward.

And as I've heard from President Clinton, he has proved that we are serious. Why the others are not convinced that we are serious—although I heard statements from Israeli officials which said that Syria is serious in the peace process—and probably what I remember is that Rabin was in the front, he was in the front of those people who said a short while ago that Syria is serious in wanting peace. And I hope I remember quite well, I hope my memory is accurate in this. I heard him saying and asserting that Syria is serious in the peace process. So of whom is he afraid?

Q. Mr. President, in your speech today you emphasized the significance of security for both sides, i.e., Syria and Israel. On numerous occasions, Israeli leaders have sought

preferential and rather advantageous security arrangements as a precondition for any peace pact with Syria. It's common knowledge that Israel possesses a huge arsenal of both conventional and mass destruction weapons, refuses to sign the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty. How do you explain your endorsement of any future package of security arrangements in view of Israel's illogical and unacceptable precondition?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I don't have to explain it because there won't be a peace agreement until both sides agree on security measures. And these are measures that to some extent are objective and to some extent are based on intuition—the feeling about what the possible future threats to Syria and to Israel are.

But the United States has absolutely no hesitation in facilitating an open and straightforward exchange on those issues. Both sides will have to be satisfied that their security needs are met. And it's been my experience that the countries, and particularly their leaders, are the best judge of what those security requirements are.

I don't believe for a moment that President Asad or Prime Minister Rabin would agree to a peace that would undermine the security of either nation. I think both of them will feel that they're more safe after the agreement rather than less safe. And that, to me, is the ultimate answer to this question.

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Christopher said that leaders, Presidents like yourself, are capable of bold moves that negotiators and diplomats aren't able to make. Can you tell us, were there any bold moves made today that you can report in terms of agreements on the Golan Heights or peace or terms of security?

President Clinton. Well, let me restate what I said earlier. First of all, I respect and I welcome the statement that President Asad has made here today, which goes beyond, in my judgment, the public diplomacy initiatives which have been made in the past. And I think that that statement should be reassuring to the people of Israel and should encourage more dialog and a greater willingness to pursue the peace process.

Secondly, in our private discussions there was some progress made, the details of which

I will not and I should not discuss at this time. But we are moving forward. I will obviously see Prime Minister Rabin. We will have a frank and open discussion, as we always do, and we'll do what we can to keep moving forward.

Q. President Clinton, I have a question for you please. On numerous occasions the United States has stressed commitment to Israel's security and has provided Israel with all forms of financial and military support. How would you, Mr. President, reconcile your role as an honest intermediary in the peace process and your different way of dealing with Syria, which since the outset of the peace process has confirmed her seriousness and positive attitude to make the process successful?

President Clinton. The commitment of the United States to the security of Israel is something that goes back a long way, is of long standing, and is a given as a part of our foreign policy. I think that, notwithstanding that commitment, President Asad and all others in the Middle East who have dealt with us in this peace process would say that we have done our best, not just me but especially the Secretary of State, Mr. Ross, and others, to be an honest intermediary, to carry the legitimate concerns of the various parties, to try to help them make peace.

I would say to you, if I might, what I said in the previous answer: This peace agreement will never occur unless Israel and Syria sign with the absolute conviction that they will be more secure for signing it, not less secure. So whatever the details of the ultimate security arrangement are in this peace treaty, if it is signed by the leaders of both countries it will only be because they are both convinced that they will be safer after they sign than they are before. And we will support that in any reasonable way that we can.

Q. President Asad, President Clinton referred to terrorism earlier. As you are aware, the United States keeps Syria on its lists of countries that sponsor terrorism. Did you in this discussion promise not to sponsor terrorism anymore? Did you acknowledge that you, in fact, do? And can you tell us what the Syrian view is of terrorist activities?

President Asad. We did not discuss terrorism as a separate title. And the context of our discussion mentioned some of the examples of the discussions which took place between me and some of the senior American officials—these discussions which are related to accusing Syria of supporting terrorism. I said in these discussions to the American senior officers, whom I asked then to mention for me one incident in which Syria has committed a terrorist action, and he was helpless. He was not able to mention one single incident in which Syria supported terrorism.

Terrorism—but as it is known, the problem of terrorism is an accusation, allegation because of the conflict between us and Syria. This is a fact. None of you, in my opinion, neither an Arab nor an American, who doesn't know that the reason for accusing Syria of terrorism—it's not because that Syrians and those who are in Syria are practicing terrorism but for reasons which are related to our stand regarding Israel. That's why this accusation went on for a very long time. And regardless of the desire of many people, both in Syria and the United States, in different times to solve this problem, we did not reach until now such a solution.

But at any rate, this was not one of the topics on the agenda in my discussion with President Clinton, and we are discussing what is more important. And our concern and focus was on the peace process.

If the time allows, I would have asked all of you, does any one of you have anything that proves that Syria has done a single terrorist act. But I don't want this to be a question to you because time does not allow such a question.

President Clinton. I'll make two points. First of all, in our meeting, I said and I believe President Asad agrees, that if we are going to have peace in the region and a peace agreement is made, then supporting those who try to undermine a peace that is made is inconsistent with that, particularly if they try to undermine it with terrorist tactics.

Secondly, we do not, we cannot, and we will not support the killing of innocent civilians. And President Asad has said repeatedly and said to me in our meeting today that he thought that was wrong as well, wherever

it occurred, whether in the bus incident or in Hebron. So we did discuss it in that context.

I am here because I believe strongly that the best way to bring an end to terrorism in this part of the world is to achieve a comprehensive peace. And I believe we should keep working at it until we get the job done.

Q. President Clinton, you said many times that achieving a progress on the Syrian track is the basis for achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the region. And incidents have shown that the stalemate in this track now is caused by the rejection of Israel to fully withdraw from the Golan and from the south of Lebanon. Do you believe, Mr. President, that it is possible to overcome this obstacle during this visit of yours to Syria? Thank you.

President Clinton. No, I don't believe we'll announce a peace treaty on this visit. I don't believe we will finish the job on this visit. I do know we have made some progress here, and I expect to make some progress in Israel.

I believe, and I have told all the parties in the Middle East this, that we should build on what has happened and try to accelerate this peace process, not slow it down.

The people of Israel have been shaken by the incidents in the last couple of weeks. But I also think they must have been lifted up by the signing yesterday with Jordan. And they also should have been encouraged by President Asad's speech to the Parliament, by Foreign Minister Shara's interview on Israeli television, by the statement President Asad made here today.

So no, I wish we were signing a peace treaty on this trip. We won't do it, but we are making progress.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 76th news conference began at 12:55 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Presidential Palace. In his remarks, President Clinton referred to Dennis B. Ross, Special Middle East Coordinator, and Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara of Syria. President Asad spoke in Arabic, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Proclamation 6750—Veterans Day, 1994

October 27, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each year, we set aside November 11 to honor the men and women who have served in our Nation's Armed Forces. Their stories are not only of past glory and current sacrifice; their lasting contributions are to our future as well. Their deeds and dedication assure us and the generations to come that America's great promise of freedom and happiness will endure and flourish.

Fifty years ago on this day, American forces of World War II were pushing the enemy back across the European continent, liberating hundreds of thousands along the way. These heroic Americans fought to win the peace, not just for themselves and for their Nation, but for oppressed millions in many lands.

The world has changed tremendously since then. Today, the international role of the United States has evolved from peacemaker to peacekeeper. And still we call upon our Armed Forces to serve our Nation and to defend the cause of freedom everywhere. Our men and women in uniform understand that the ideals of democracy and self-determination are larger than any single nation. The blood of Americans spilled on battlefields from Normandy to Korea to Vietnam and the vigilant defense of freedom throughout the Cold War have taught us a lasting lesson: America can only rest secure when every individual knows liberty and all nations live at peace.

It is an extraordinary person who is willing to step in harm's way to protect others. Our Nation has always been blessed with an abundance of such men and women. We owe our veterans an inestimable debt of gratitude. On this day, we recognize how much they have done, and are doing, to make a better, safer tomorrow for all of us.

In order that we may pay due tribute to those who have served in our Armed Forces, the Congress has provided (5 U.S.C. 6103(a)) that November 11 of each year shall be set

aside as a legal public holiday to honor America's veterans.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Friday, November 11, 1994, as "Veterans Day." I urge all Americans to honor the resolution and commitment of our veterans through appropriate public ceremonies and private prayers. I call upon Federal, State, and local government officials to display the flag of the United States and to encourage and participate in patriotic activities in their communities. I invite civic and fraternal organizations, places of worship, schools, businesses, unions, and the media to support this national observance with suitable commemorative expressions and programs.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of Federal Register, 11:19 a.m., October 28, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 31.

Proclamation 6751—Thanksgiving Day, 1994

October 27, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As the end of another year draws closer, we are again filled with thankfulness for the blessings of a fruitful land. For more than 200 years, Americans have welcomed autumn's harvest with gratitude and goodwill. On Thanksgiving Day, we set aside our daily routines to acknowledge the bounty and mercy of Divine Providence. With full hearts, we bask in the warmth of family and community gatherings, and we reflect on the challenge, responsibility, and privilege that are ours as citizens of these United States.

It is our great fortune to live in a country of abundance and promise—a land of freedom for all. Still only a few generations removed from our Nation's founders, we continue to blaze a trail toward stability and justice. Aspiring to lift ourselves closer to God's grace, we remain determined to ease the pain of the many people who know only poverty and despair. Clearly, ours is an unfinished journey.

Our destination must be to create the means for every one of us to prosper, to enjoy sound education, meaningful work experience, protective health care, and personal security. It is our responsibility to prompt the national conscience so that by fostering virtue, wisdom, and moral values, we rejoice in our growth as a people.

Our challenge is to give assistance and encouragement that are equitable and just and that alleviate human suffering. Our responsibility is to nurture the processes of peace and equal human rights everywhere with compassion and concern. And like other pioneers before us, it is our privilege to be able to aim toward lofty goals.

Across this land as people gather together with loved ones to savor the bounty of the Thanksgiving Holiday, I invite each family, each religious congregation, each community and city, to celebrate your experience of the American heritage. Reach out in friendship and cooperation to the people of your hometown. Take responsibility for bringing harmony and hope, peace and prosperity to all of the inhabitants of our world. Share the privileges of freedom and the challenge of working for a better world.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 24, 1994, as a National Day of Thanksgiving. I urge the citizens of this great Nation to continue this beloved tradition and to strengthen it by gathering in their homes and places of worship to express their heartfelt gratitude for the many blessings of our lives.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred

and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:20 a.m., October 28, 1994]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 31.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iraq

October 27, 1994

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

In light of the crisis on the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border that began in early October, this report begins with a brief account of the Iraqi provocation and U.S. responses through the U.N. Security Council vote of October 15. Subsequent developments in this crisis will be covered in the next report.

Iraq's recent behavior with respect to Kuwait has shown the world that it has not changed its threatening ways and cannot be trusted. In early October 1994, elements of the Hammurabi Division of the elite Iraqi Republican Guard were detected relocating to positions at Shaiyah airfield in southern Iraq. This was the southernmost deployment of Republican Guard forces since the 1990-1991 Gulf War. By October 8, the 15th Mechanized Brigade of the Hammurabi Division had deployed to approximately 20 kilometers from the Kuwait border. Its artillery assets were oriented south toward Kuwait. At the same time, the Al Nida Division of the Republican Guard began moving from the Mosul rail yard and the Baghdad area to positions in southern Iraq. All these units were fully equipped with ammunition, food, and fuel, leading us to conclude that this was no mere exercise.

By October 8, these troop movements, combined with forces already in southern

Iraq, brought Iraqi troop strength in southern Iraq to 64,000, organized into 8 divisions. By October 9, indications were present that logistic sites were being established in the vicinity of these deployments. Iraqi movements to the south continued, and by October 11, it was assessed that Iraq would be capable of launching an attack by October 13.

This provocation required a strong response. Accordingly, on October 8, 1994, I ordered the immediate deployment of additional U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf. These deployments included the USS *George Washington* Carrier Battle Group and its accompanying cruise missile ships, a U.S. Marine Corps Expeditionary Unit, a U.S. Army Mechanized Task Force, and personnel to operate two additional Patriot missile batteries. On October 10, I further ordered the deployment of over 500 U.S. Air Force and Marine Corps combat and supporting aircraft to the region.

In response to these measures, the Iraqi government began ordering its forces to move to positions in the rear, around Nasiriyah and Qalat Salih, north of Basra, but still within several hours of the Kuwaiti border. Had these forces remained deployed around Nasiriyah, it would have constituted a significant enhancement of Iraq's capabilities in southern Iraq. By October 15, there were clear indications that most Iraqi forces that had been moved south since late September were being redeployed to their original locations. On October 15, 1994, the international community also demonstrated its strong resolve regarding this latest provocation when it passed unanimously U.N. Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 949, which condemned Iraq's provocative behavior and demanded that Iraq immediately withdraw the units deployed in the south to their original positions, not utilize its forces to threaten its neighbors or U.N. operations, not redeploy or enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq, and cooperate fully with U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM).

As this recent episode shows, we continue to witness an Iraq that has failed to demonstrate its readiness to comply with the will of the international community. We will continue to insist that Iraq not threaten its neigh-

bors or intimidate the United Nations as it takes steps to ensure that Iraq never again possesses weapons of mass destruction. The sanctions will be maintained until Iraq complies with all relevant provisions of U.N. Security Council resolutions. Indeed, these recent provocative Iraqi actions underscore the wisdom of the Security Council's September 14 decision not to modify the existing sanctions regime.

Cooperation by Iraq with the United Nations since 1991 has been meager, sporadic, selective, and opportunistic. Taken as a whole, Iraq's record represents a stunning failure to meet the standard set by the Council when it set the terms for ending the Gulf War in UNSCR 687: to assure the world community of its "peaceful intentions." The purpose of the drafters of Resolution 687—to ensure that Iraq could never again pose a threat to its neighbors or to regional peace and security—remains unfulfilled.

Nonetheless, UNSCOM and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) are working hard, with the help of the United States and other supporting nations, to put in place a comprehensive and effective monitoring regime for Iraq. During the month of August alone, UNSCOM and IAEA had seven different teams in Iraq building and testing monitoring capabilities. This effort must be carefully designed if it is to be so thorough that Iraq cannot rebuild a covert nuclear program, as it did before the Gulf War, when it claimed to be in compliance with the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Continued vigilance is necessary because we believe that Saddam Hussein is committed to rebuilding his weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capability.

Indeed, significant gaps in accounting for Iraq's past programs for WMD continue. There are unresolved issues in each of the four weapons categories (nuclear, long-range missile, chemical, and biological). This has been particularly true in the chemical and biological weapons areas, where Iraq claims to have destroyed large amounts of documentation. It is, therefore, extremely important that the monitoring regime be effective, comprehensive, and sustainable. A program of this magnitude is unprecedented and will require continued, substantial assistance for

UNSCOM from supporting nations. Rigorous and extensive trial and field testing will be required before UNSCOM can judge the program's effectiveness.

Rolf Ekeus, the Chairman of UNSCOM, has told Iraq that it must establish a clear track record of compliance before he can report favorably to the Security Council. We strongly endorse Chairman Ekeus' approach and reject any attempt to limit UNSCOM's flexibility by the establishment of a timetable for determining whether Iraq has complied with UNSCR 715.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee continues to consider and, when appropriate, approve requests to send to Iraq materials and supplies for essential civilian needs. The Iraqi government, in contrast, has continued to maintain a full embargo against its northern provinces and has acted to distribute humanitarian supplies throughout the country only to its supporters and to the military.

The Iraqi government has refused to sell \$1.6 million in oil as previously authorized by the Security Council in UNSCRs 706 and 712. Talks between Iraq and the United Nations on implementing these resolutions ended unsuccessfully in October 1993. Iraq could use proceeds from such sales to purchase foodstuffs, medicines, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs of its population, subject to U.N. monitoring of sales and the equitable distribution of humanitarian supplies (including to its northern provinces). Iraq's refusal to implement UNSCRs 706 and 712 continues to cause needless suffering.

Proceeds from oil sales also would be used to compensate persons injured by Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. Of note regarding oil sales, discussions are underway with Turkish officials concerning the possible flushing of Iraqi oil now in the Turkish pipeline that extends from Iraq through Turkey. The objective is to prevent physical deterioration of the Turkish pipeline as a unique asset. Discussions continue as to how to conduct the flushing in a manner consistent with the U.N. sanctions regime.

The "no-fly zones" over northern and southern Iraq permit the monitoring of Iraq's compliance with UNSCRs 687 and 688. Over the last 3 years, the northern no-fly zone has

deterred Iraq from a major military offensive in the region. In southern Iraq, the no-fly zone has stopped Iraq's use of aircraft against its population.

However, the Iraqi government continues its harsh campaign against its perceived enemies, both in the north and south. Baghdad's campaign of economic warfare against the people of northern Iraq continues. Last month the Iraqi regime cut electrical power to the Aqrah/Shirwan districts of Dohuk Governorate. Three hundred fifty thousand people now confront a lack of water, sanitation, and hospital services. Also in northern Iraq, in the vicinity of Mosul, we are watching Iraqi troop movements carefully; Iraq's intentions are still unclear. In the south, Iraq's repression of the Marsh Arabs and the implementation of a policy of environmental devastation represent a clear intent to target a specific area for reprisals without regard to the impact on innocent civilians. Further, Iraqi forces still wage a land-based artillery campaign in the marshes, and the shelling of marsh villages continues. In the last few years, the population of the region, whose marsh culture has remained essentially unchanged since 3500 B.C., has been reduced by an estimated three-quarters.

Iraq still refuses to recognize Kuwait's sovereignty and the inviolability of the U.N. demarcated border, which was reaffirmed by the Security Council in UNSCRs 773 and 833. Indeed, Iraq continues to view the issue of Kuwaiti sovereignty as an object of tactical moves rather than an opportunity to demonstrate peaceful intentions. Further, it has not complied with Security Council demands to resolve the issue of Kuwaiti MIAs, return Kuwaiti property stolen during the occupation, and renounce terrorism. Iraq also has not met its obligations concerning Kuwaiti and third-country nationals it detained during the war and has taken no substantive steps to cooperate fully with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), as required by UNSCR 687, beyond agreement to participate in a technical committee being organized by the ICRC.

The Special Rapporteur of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (UNHRC), Max van der Stoep, continues to report on the human rights situation in Iraq, particularly

the Iraqi military's repression against its civilian populations in the marshes. The Special Rapporteur asserted in his February 1994 report that the Government of Iraq has engaged in war crimes and crimes against humanity, and may have committed violations of the 1948 Genocide Convention. Regarding the Kurds, the Special Rapporteur has judged that the extent and gravity of reported violations place the survival of the Kurds in jeopardy. The Special Rapporteur has noted that there are essentially no freedoms of opinion, expression, or association in Iraq. Torture is widespread in Iraq and results from a system of state-terror successfully directed at subduing the population. The Special Rapporteur repeated his recommendation for the establishment of human rights monitors strategically located to improve the flow of information and to provide independent verification of reports. We are pressing for the deployment of human rights monitors.

Special Rapporteur van der Stoep will file additional reports to the U.N. General Assembly in the fall and to the UNHRC in early 1995. We are also considering efforts to investigate and publicize Iraqi crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other violations of international humanitarian law.

Examples of Iraqi noncooperation and noncompliance continue in other areas. Dozens of Shi'a clerics are still imprisoned in Iraq without charge. Reliable reports have indicated that the Government of Iraq is offering reward money for terrorist acts against U.N. and humanitarian relief workers in Iraq. For 3 years there has been a clear pattern of criminal acts linking the Government of Iraq to a series of assassinations and attacks in northern Iraq on relief workers, U.N. guards, and foreign journalists, including a German journalist murdered in northern Iraq last spring. Ten persons have been injured and two have been killed in such attacks this year. These acts are indicative of Iraq's continuing disdain for the United Nations and, in our view, also constitute violations of UNSCRs 687 and 688.

The U.N. Compensation Commission (UNCC) has received about 2.4 million claims so far, with another 100,000 expected. The United States Government has now filed

a total of 3,100 individual claims with a total asserted value of over \$215 million. Earlier this year, one panel of UNCC Commissioners submitted its report on the first installment of individual claims for serious personal injury or death. The UNCC Commissioners' report recommended awards for a group of about 670 claimants, of which 11 were U.S. claimants. The Governing Council of the UNCC approved the panel's recommendations at its session in late May. This summer the first U.S. claimants received compensation for their losses. The UNCC Commissioners are expected to finish reviewing by the end of the year all claims filed involving death and serious personal injury.

In October the Governing Council will consider reports from the UNCC Commissioners on two other groups of claims. The first group involves approximately 50,000 persons, including approximately 200 U.S. claimants, who were forced to depart suddenly from Kuwait or Iraq during the invasion and occupation. The second group will involve claimants who sustained itemized individual losses, e.g., lost salary or personal property.

The United States Government also has submitted a total of approximately \$1.5 billion in corporate claims against the Government of Iraq, representing about 140 business entities. Those claims represented a multitude of enterprises ranging from small family-owned businesses to large multinational corporations. In addition, in late July, the United States Government filed five Government claims with the UNCC. The five claims were for nonmilitary losses, such as damage to Government property (e.g., the U.S. Embassy compound in Kuwait) and the costs of evacuating U.S. nationals and their families from Kuwait and Iraq. These Government claims have an asserted value of about \$17 million. In the future, the United States Government also expects to file one or more additional Government claim(s) involving the costs of monitoring health risks associated with oil well fires and other environmental damage in the Persian Gulf region. The UNCC expects to begin processing corporate claims and government claims later this year or early 1995.

It is clear that Iraq can rejoin the community of civilized nations only through democratic processes, respect for human rights, equal treatment of its people, and adherence to basic norms of international behavior. Iraq's Government should represent all of Iraq's people and be committed to the territorial integrity and unity of Iraq. The Iraqi National Congress (INC) espouses these goals, the fulfillment of which would make Iraq a stabilizing force in the Gulf region.

Neither in its words nor its deeds has Iraq convinced us it is no longer a threat to regional peace and security. Any discussion of lifting the oil embargo and other sanctions cannot be limited to future Iraqi cooperation in the area of WMD, but must take into account all the issues that comprise the true test of Iraq's peaceful intentions. Full Iraqi compliance with all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions remains the objective of U.S. policy.

The Congress' continued support of our efforts is especially gratifying.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Remarks to the Knesset in Jerusalem, Israel

October 27, 1994

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Netanyahu, ladies and gentlemen of the Knesset: Let me begin by thanking the Prime Minister and the people of Israel for welcoming me to your wonderful country, and thanking all of you for giving me the opportunity to address this great democratic body where, clearly, people of all different views are welcome to express their convictions. I feel right at home. *[Laughter]*

Yesterday Israel took a great stride toward fulfilling the ancient dream of the Jewish people, the patriarchs' dream of a strong and plentiful people living freely in their own land, enjoying the fruits of peace with their neighbors. Nearly 17 years after President Sadat came to this Chamber to seek peace and Prime Minister Begin reached out in rec-

conciliation, and just over a year after Israel and the PLO declared a pathway to peace on the South Lawn of the White House, Israel and Jordan have now written a new chapter.

Tonight we praise the courage of the leaders who have given life to this treaty, Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres. They have shown the vision and the tenacity of other leaders of Israel's past whose names will be remembered always for their devotion to your cause and your people: Ben Gurion, Meir, Begin.

In your life, Prime Minister, we see the life of your country. As a youth, you wished to fulfill the commandment to farm the land of Israel, but instead you had to answer the call to defend the people of Israel. You have devoted your life to cultivating strength so that others could till the soil in safety. You have fought many battles and won many victories in war. Now, in strength, you are fighting and winning battles for peace. Indeed, you have shown your people that they can free themselves from siege, that for the first time they can make real a peace for the generations.

For the American people, too, this peace is a blessing. For decades, as Israel has struggled to survive, we have rejoiced in your triumphs and shared in your agonies. In the years since Israel was founded, Americans of every faith have admired and supported you. Like your country, ours is a land that welcomes exiles, a nation of hope, a nation of refuge. From the Orient and Europe and now from the former Soviet Union, your people have come, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, Yemenites and Ethiopians, all of you committed to living free, to building a common home. One of nearly four of the citizens of this country is an Arab, something very few people know beyond your borders. Even without the blessings of secure borders, you have secured for your own people the blessings of democracy. With all of its turmoil and debate, it is still the best of all systems.

In times of war and times of peace, every President of the United States since Harry Truman and every Congress has understood the importance of Israel. The survival of Israel is important not only to our interests, but to every single value we hold dear as a

people. Our role in war has been to help you defend yourself by yourself. That is what you have asked. Now that you are taking risks for peace, our role is to help you to minimize the risks of peace.

I am committed to working with our Congress to maintain the current levels of military and economic assistance. We have taken concrete steps to strengthen Israel's qualitative edge. The U.S.-Israel Science and Technology Commission, unprecedented Israeli access to the U.S. high-technology market, and acquisition of advanced computers, all these keep Israel in the forefront of global advances and competitive and global markets.

I have also taken steps to enhance Israel's military and your capacity to address possible threats not only to yourselves but to the region. F-15 aircraft are being provided and F-16's transferred out of U.S. stocks. We work closely with you to develop the Arrow missile, to protect against the threat of ballistic missiles.

As we help to overcome the risks of peace, we also are helping to build a peace that will bring with it the safety and security Israel deserves. That peace must be real, based on treaty commitments arrived at directly by the parties, not imposed from outside. It must be secure. Israel must always be able to defend itself by itself. And it must be comprehensive. We have worked hard to end the Arab boycott, and we've had some success. But we will not stop until it is completely lifted. There is a treaty with Jordan and an agreement with the PLO. But we must keep going until Syria and Lebanon close the circle of states entering into peace and the other nations of the Arab world normalize their relations with Israel.

This morning in Damascus I discussed peace with President Asad. He repeated at our press conference what he had earlier said to his own Parliament: Syria has made a strategic choice for peace with Israel. He also explained that Syria is ready to commit itself to the requirements of peace through the establishment of normal peaceful relations with Israel. His hope, as he articulated it, is to transform the region from a state of war to a state of peace that enables both Arabs and

Israelis to live in security, stability, and prosperity.

We have been urging President Asad to speak to you in a language of peace that you can understand. Today he began to do so. Of course, it would take more than words, much more than words. Yet I believe something is changing in Syria. Its leaders understand that it is time to make peace. There will still be a good deal of hard bargaining before a breakthrough, but they are serious about proceeding.

Just as we have worked with you from Camp David to Wadi Araba to bring peace with security to your people, so too we will walk with you on the road to Damascus for peace with security.

There are those who see peace still as all too distant. Surely, they include the families of those burned in the rubble of the community center in Buenos Aires, those in the basement of New York's World Trade Center, the loved ones of the passengers on bus number 5, and of course, two people who, as been noted, are in this Chamber with us tonight. And we honor the parents of Corporal Nahshon Waxman, a son of your nation and, I proudly say, a citizen of ours.

We grieve with the families of those who are lost and with all the people of Israel. So long as Jews are murdered just because they are Jews or just because they are citizens of Israel, the plague of anti-Semitism lives, and we must stand against it. We must stand against terror as strongly as we stand for peace, for without an end to terror there can be no peace.

The forces of terror and extremism still threaten us all. Sometimes they pretend to act in the name of God and country. But their deeds violate their own religious faith and make a mockery of any notion of honorable patriotism.

As I said last night to the Parliament in Jordan, we respect Islam. Millions of American citizens every day answer the Moslem call to prayer. But we know that the real fight is not about religion or culture. It is about a worldwide conflict between those who believe in peace and those who believe in terror, those who believe in hope and those who believe in fear.

Those who stoke the fires of violence and seek to destroy the peace, make no mistake about it, have one great goal. Their goal is to make the people of Israel, who have defeated all odds on the field of battle, to give up inside on the peace by giving in to the doubts that terror brings to every one of us. But having come so far, you cannot give up or give in. Your future must lie in the words of a survivor of the carnage of bus number 5 who said, "I want the peace process to continue. I want to live in peace. I want my children to live in peace."

So let us say to the merchants of terror once again: You cannot succeed; you must not succeed; you will not succeed. You are the past, not the future; the peacemakers are the future.

I say to you, my friends, in spite of all the dangers and difficulties that still surround you, the circle of your enemies is shrinking. Their time has passed. Their increasing isolation is reflected in the desperation of their disgusting deeds.

Once in this area you were shunned. Now, more and more, you are embraced. As you share the waters of the River Jordan and work with your neighbors, new crops will emerge where the soil is now barren. As you join together to mine the Dead Sea for its minerals, you will bring prosperity to all your people. As you roll up the barbed wire and cross the desert of Araba, the sands will yield new life to you. As you dock in each other's ports along the Gulf of Aqaba, more and more people will have the chance to experience the wonders of both your lands, and more and more children will share the joys of youth, not the dread of war.

This is the great promise of peace. It is the promise of making sure that all those who have sacrificed their lives did not die in vain; the promise of a Sabbath afternoon not violated by gunfight, a drive across the plains to the mountains of Moab where Moses died and Ruth was born, a Yom Kippur of pure prayer without the rumble of tanks, voices of fear, or rumors of war. After all the bloodshed and all your tears, you are now far closer to the day when the clash of arms is heard no more and all the children of Abraham, the children of Isaac, the children of Israel will live side by side in peace.

This was, after all, the message the prophet Mohammed himself brought to peoples of other faiths when he said, "There is no argument between us and you. God will bring us together, and unto Him is the homecoming." And this was the message Moses spoke to the children of Israel, when for the last time he spoke to them as they gathered across the River Jordan into the Promised Land, when he said, "I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life so that you and your descendants may live."

This week, once again, the people of Israel made a homecoming. Once again, you chose life. Once again, America was proud to walk with you.

The Prime Minister mentioned a story in his remarks that he never asked me about. Wouldn't it be embarrassing if it weren't true? [*Laughter*] The truth is that the only time my wife and I ever came to Israel before today was 13 years ago with my pastor on a religious mission. I was then out of office. I was the youngest former Governor in the history of the United States. [*Laughter*] No one thought I would ever be here; perhaps my mother, no one else. [*Laughter*] We visited the holy sites. I relived the history of the Bible, of your Scriptures and mine, and I formed a bond with my pastor. Later, when he became desperately ill, he said he thought I might one day become President. And he said, more bluntly than the Prime Minister did, "If you abandon Israel, God will never forgive you." He said, "It is God's will that Israel, the biblical home of the people of Israel, continue forever and ever."

So I say to you tonight, my friends, one of our Presidents, John Kennedy, reminded us that here on Earth, God's will must truly be our own. It is for us to make the homecoming, for us to choose life, for us to work for peace. But until we achieve a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and then after we achieve comprehensive peace in the Middle East, know this: Your journey is our journey, and America will stand with you now and always.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. in the Chamber at the Knesset. In his remarks, he referred to Shevach Weiss, Speaker of the Knesset,

and Beinyamin Netanyahu, leader of the Likud Party. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel in Jerusalem, Israel

October 27, 1994

Prime Minister Rabin. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that we experienced during the visit of President Clinton in the region a real move towards peace. No doubt that the visit of President Clinton was crowned yesterday by the second peace treaty between an Arab country and Israel, the first one after the convening of the Madrid peace conference.

We look, from Israel's point of view, to President Clinton as a friend of Israel and a President that works very hard to bring about what we dream for, aspire to: to achieve comprehensive peace, that is to say, peace with our four neighboring Arab countries. With two, it has been accomplished. And no doubt, the visit of the President in Damascus, I believe that it will bring about through certain changes, a movement toward better negotiations, better possibilities to overcome the gaps between the positions of Israel and Syria.

No doubt in my mind that during the term of you, Mr. President, as the President of the United States, we have seen dramatic change in the relations between those Arab partners with whom we negotiate. We signed the Declaration of Principles between us and the PLO on the lawns of the White House. It was followed by the negotiations to bring about the first phase of its implementation in the Gaza-Jericho first. We are engaged today in continuation of our negotiations with the Palestinians about Arab empowerment, elections, and no doubt, yesterday we signed a peace treaty that the President helped to bring about and witnessed.

For 2 years, to reach two agreements, one, with the Palestinians with which we have a long story of suspicion, hatred, prejudice, bloodshed, and with the Jordanians, that I remember over 46 years ago that in this city I fought them and they fought me, and we look forward to make it possible to overcome

yet the differences between Syria and Lebanon and us.

I might take time. One has to be patient. One has to understand that there are problems. And I believe that it will not take long, and hopefully, we'll find ways and means by which to overcome these gaps.

I hope, Mr. President, that you will continue sending Secretary Christopher, who worked very hard and tried in your name to move between Damascus and Jerusalem with the purpose to find ways to overcome the differences.

Allow me also to add that the Government of Israel of today is determined, on one hand, to continue all our efforts to bring about comprehensive peace. But at the same time, we are fully aware that there are enemies of peace. For us, the enemies of peace are the extreme Islamic radical terror movements. Among the Palestinians, they are the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. Ninety percent of the terror activities against us are carried by them. And there is a tendency for oversimplification, to identify those parts of the Palestinians with whom we reach an agreement and we try to implement it and extreme radical Islamic elements that are enemies of peace and enemies of the Palestinians that reach agreement with us, from Lebanon, Hezbollah, which is a part of the ugly wave of Khomeinism without Khomeini that is all over the Arab world and the Islamic world. Whatever happens in Algeria is not related whatsoever to the Arab-Israeli conflict or in Sudan or in fighting within Egypt. It's an ugly wave that threatens not only the peace—they are the infrastructure of the international terrorism. And behind it, to a certain extent there are certain parties, to a larger extent is Iran. And therefore, Mr. President, we support your policy of dual containment. We believe it's vital to the peace in the Middle East, to stability among the Arab and the Muslim world, and to prevent international terrorism.

We thank you very much. You heard today in our Knesset the government and opposition together joined in the support of the peace treaty with Jordan, in expressing thanks to you, Mr. President, for the way that you have stood and stand in support of Israel's security while trying your best to bring about advancement, which was suc-

cessful so far in bringing about peace to the region.

Therefore, today, here in Jerusalem, the united city, the capital of Israel, and, no doubt, the heart of the Jewish people, we thank you.

Thank you very much.

The President. Thank you, Prime Minister.

Ladies and gentlemen, because I had the opportunity to speak at length at Knesset this evening and to outline my position on a number of matters, I will be very brief. I would like to make just a couple of points.

First of all, at my first meeting with Prime Minister Rabin shortly after I became President, he told me he was prepared to take risks for peace. And I told him that that being the case, the job of the United States was to minimize those risks. For 20 months now, we have both done our best to do our jobs, and I think it's fair to say that we have had a reasonable amount of success in which the people of Israel can be proud and in which they can feel secure and one in which I hope the American people take pride.

Secondly, I would like to congratulate him and the people of Israel again on the peace treaty with Jordan. We have responsibilities there that relate to the security of both Israel and Jordan, and I have been working on that even since the peace treaty has been signed. I was in conversations with the King well past midnight last night. We are attempting to do our part to make sure this peace is as wildly successful as everyone believes that it can be.

Thirdly, I thank the Prime Minister for his comments about terrorism and his support for our policies, especially I think I should mention something I did not mention in my speech tonight which is that of the steadfast support of Israel for our policies in the Gulf and for our recent action in the Gulf. I will be going to Kuwait tomorrow to see our troops and on to Saudi Arabia. I appreciate the support of Israel.

Finally, with regard to what the Prime Minister said about Syria and my trip there today, I went there because I was convinced we needed to add new energy to the talks. And I come away from Syria convinced that we have, that some significant progress has been at least made possible, and that there

has been some change in positions that offer the hope of more progress. And I have instructed the Secretary of State to return to the region within a few weeks to continue. Meanwhile, other discussions continue at other levels. And I am confident that we can be successful by simply pushing ahead.

So on all these fronts, I feel better tonight than I did when I came here. And again, I thank the Prime Minister for this welcome and for the opportunity to address the Knesset.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President and Prime Minister Rabin, you are talking about significant developments coming from Damascus. From what we heard publicly until now, your visit to Damascus seems a disappointment for the Israelis. I mean, you gave the Syrians maybe one of the biggest gestures America has, a personal visit of the President of the United States. And President Asad responded publicly in his general words of peace which we heard in the past. So what else is new, Mr. President? And Mr. Rabin, what did you hear maybe privately from the President about this visit?

The President. Well, I would like to make three points if I might. First of all, I don't think it's accurate to say that he had ever said to me and to rest of the world and to the people of Israel that he wanted to make peace with Israel and wanted to have normal, peaceful, constructive relations with Israel.

Secondly, he made some statements in our private conversations about the details of this process which I would be wrong to discuss because the essence of these negotiations is that they can proceed in some confidence. But they did show some forward movement in ways that I believe are not insignificant.

Thirdly, there's one thing I do regret about the press conference today. I regret that President Asad did not take the opportunity to say in public what he said to me in private about his deep regret about the loss of innocent lives and, particularly, the bus bombing. He said to me, "You know, we have to end the killing of innocents wherever it occurs, whether it was on that bus or in Hebron. I deplore it all. And I am convinced that only by making peace can we end it. And when

we do make peace, it will end." That is what he said to me.

I think the way the question was posed to him, I think, led him to give an answer which may have been somewhat misleading, not intentionally, but because he did not say that. I also want to reaffirm that there was absolutely no discussion in our private meeting, as he said, about the question of the United States removing Syria from the terrorist list. He did not ask for that; he did not bring it up. And I certainly did not bring it up. There has been no mixing of those two issues.

So, I think that his statement did break some new ground. I know that his private conversations broke some new ground. And I was particularly encouraged by what he said in private to me about the killing of innocent people. I regret that that was not said in public, but I can tell you that it was said in private. And what I said in the press conference is now, as I understand it, even being re-broadcast on a regular basis in Syria tonight to reaffirm that that is in fact what happened.

Prime Minister Rabin. I am accustomed to the prolonged and sometimes difficult period of negotiations. If one would have told us 2 years ago that we'd make a strategic understanding with Chairman Arafat and the PLO, people would not believe.

In the process towards peace, we have to overcome on both sides certain perceptions, certain sometimes prejudices, one about another. Therefore, I believe that all the partners to the Madrid peace conference—and by now remain the Palestinians with which we reached an agreement in principles—Syria and Lebanon would like to have peace. I don't know any one of the partners who don't want to have peace. The only question is, what is the meaning of peace? What is the price of peace? It takes time to overcome differences. And whatever I heard, this first: that Syria strategically decided for peace. Second, they are ready to continue the negotiations, not in the best way to my opinion, but as long as there is any avenue of negotiations, we should follow it. Thirdly, I don't believe it will be right on the part of Israel, regardless what was said or didn't say on the press conference today in Damascus, which I would like that he would say different

things, but it doesn't discourage me to continue our negotiations.

And this is the essence of the peacemaking process, to be patient, to be determined, and not to be misled by ups and downs of public statements. Therefore, we will continue the way that it will be possible in negotiations with Syria. I am aware that there are gaps between our positions. But I can't recall any negotiations in the past that there were no gaps. And whenever we succeeded to reach an agreement, came about as a result of the capability to make the compromise that breached the gap.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, if you'll forgive us, we're going to keep pressing still. The President is speaking of change in positions; you're speaking in change of perception. We have the issues tattooed on our forehead. The issues have been here for 3 years. We know there are major gaps. Are you talking about new atmospherics 3 years after Madrid, or have you been told something about Syria's position on Golan, on security, on the terms of peace? Have you heard sufficiently for you to reverse your election stand and surrender the Golan Heights?

Prime Minister Rabin. Well first, I believe that whoever sees what has taken place in the last over 3 years, he cannot ignore the tremendous change as a result of the Declaration of Principles between the PLO and us, the signing of the peace treaty, the openness in the Arab world that a foreign minister of Israel can fly to Bahrain, that multilateral negotiations can be taking place in Amman and Qatar and who knows where else, that the decision of the six members of the Gulf Community Council about ignoring, not counseling the Arab boycott. There is a trend, a move that no doubt will have its implications in other Arab countries, I hope in the short run or in the long run, even on the issues that have not yet been solved between Syria and Israel.

I believe that the mere fact that there is a continuation of negotiations with all the partners, it creates new realities in the region. From Maroc tomorrow, our big mission headed by the Foreign Minister will go to the Casablanca meeting. When did you expect that such a meeting would take place in an Arab country? We have to see beyond technical or tactical or certain important

issues between us and one of our partners, the changes that have taken place in the whole region in the attitude, a change of attitude. This is what realities speak about. And therefore, don't ask me today about details of this part or that part of the negotiations. The fact that we are moving Palestinians, yesterday Jordan, openness in the Arab world, different kind of relations—Maroc, Tunisia, and I believe there will be other Arab countries, this is the importance. You don't have to look at it on a limited point of view. You have to look at: Are there changes in the region; are there changes in the attitude of so many Arab countries towards relations to Israel, or not? This is the issue. And it will continue. And we will continue regardless to the terrible atrocities of the Islamic radical terror groups against us. I believe you will see more changes and more in the right direction.

Q. Mr. President, the restoration of Israel's exact fulfillment of over 300 Bible prophecies proves the Bible is God's true word. Genesis 17:8 says God gave Israel "all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession." And Leviticus 25:23 forbids her ever to sell it. How can it produce real peace to induce Israel to defy God by selling Judea and Samaria for Arafat's or Asad's paper promises of peace?

Prime Minister Rabin. Do you ask the President of the United States this question? He is not representing Israel, to the best of my knowledge.

The President. That was the answer I was going to give. [Laughter]

The people of Israel, through their elected leaders, will decide what they are required to do for their own existence, their own security, their own future, and for their patience and peace with God.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, in the agreements you signed with some of your Arab neighbors, the issue of Jerusalem remained unresolved, the whole status of east Jerusalem. And that's also true at the U.N. and in most of the world, it's unresolved. Why did you assert such absolute control? Were you trying to put President Clinton on the spot tonight?

The President. You mean in his speech to the Knesset?

Q. Yes.

Prime Minister Rabin. First, we are independent states. And we have our positions, and the United States has got its position. I can speak only on the Israeli position. We believe that Jerusalem must remain united under Israel's sovereignty. But we did not reject that the Palestinians, once we negotiate permanent solution, will raise the issue. We know their position; they know ours.

I believe that in the long run, the Jerusalem problem should be solved on two levels, the political one, that is to say, what will be the sovereignty over the united Jerusalem, which we have no doubt that it must be Israeli sovereignty and the question of the holiness of Jerusalem to the other two religions. And you'll see a sign in the Washington Declarations, in the peace treaty that we signed between Jordan and Israel, that we distinguished between the holy shrines to the Muslims that in the last 27 years we allowed free access, free practice. But even beyond that, the administration of the holy shrines to the Muslims and the Christians is done by the respective churches. We don't intervene. In that way that they run something within the holy shrines that derived from their own religion as long as it doesn't affect the security of the area. It works for 27 years. And I believe we have in the Hebrew an expression *Jerusalem shall maala, Jerusalem shall matta*. Jerusalem in the heavens, and Jerusalem on the ground.

I believe this is the key to the real solution in the long run of Jerusalem. But we are committed if they want to raise this issue. We know our position when we negotiate the permanent status between us and the Palestinians. We negotiate the solution to the refugee problems, a much wider scope not only with one partner, on a regional basis. Therefore, from my point it's very clear.

[The following question was asked and answered in Hebrew, and both were translated by an interpreter.]

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I should like to take this opportunity to ask you a question in Hebrew. President Clinton and the Secretary of State have spoken about progress in Damascus. Following your meeting with President Clinton, do you share their esti-

mation that, indeed, there is progress towards peace? And if so, in what areas?

Prime Minister Rabin. To begin with, I heard from President Clinton about his meeting with President Asad. His impression, whereby on certain subjects there has been some progress, is relevant. We must bear in mind that we are now negotiating with the Syrians. In fact, this has been going on for 3 years, ever since the Madrid convention. And we are advancing in tiny steps, inch by inch.

In the talks between us, we reached an agreement whereby Secretary of State Christopher, within a period of 3 or 4 weeks, would examine the progress being made in order to implement or to put into practice what we hope will be done. In other words, we are interested in reaching peace with Syria. We do want a peace treaty with Syria. In principle, we have agreed to a withdrawal. There is no agreement between us and Syria as to the final borders of peace, and there are other areas which have not yet been resolved.

President Clinton did not tell me that there was a historic breakthrough. He said that there was some progress on certain areas. Therefore, we must pursue these efforts. We must continue along the road on which the negotiations have been taking place so far. In other words, Secretary of State Christopher will continue shuffling between Damascus and Jerusalem. And indeed, we have agreed that this will be taking place within 3 or 4 weeks from today, if I'm not mistaken.

Q. —have another day yet before the trip is over, and I know I'm getting you while you're somewhat tired. But even so, I'd like to ask you if you could to reflect a little bit, since this is the last press conference before you go home, if you could tell us a little bit about what have you learned on the trip the last couple of days? What will you take home with you that's different from what you came here with? And what do you feel has changed for yourself from the experiences that you've had in the last however many hours it's been?

The President. Well, this has been my first opportunity to see first-hand the potential for a new Middle East, the real potential

for peace and the yearning that I see everywhere.

In Damascus today, when I was riding along the road and people would stop their working or children would crowd around their buildings, the play yards, and wave a greeting, they did it because they see the United States as the instrument of peace to bring these two nations together or at least to make it possible for them to come together. These are all things that you know, but until you see it, it's a very different thing, indeed.

I also come away from this trip profoundly grateful to the leaders of Israel and Jordan for setting an example that I think will give confidence to the efforts that others will make now to resolve the problems in the Middle East.

I also came away, frankly, with a much clearer idea of what things the United States can do and indeed what we must try to do to help make peace successful from a security point of view and from an economic point of view.

So all these things I leave with. But the most important thing is the deep yearning for this to work. I saw it in the energy in the Knesset tonight. We saw it in the energy and the passion in the Jordanian Parliament last night. And I have seen it on the streets of every place I have been in the eyes of the people. I think we are on the right historic mission, and we need to redouble our efforts until we finish.

Prime Minister Rabin. May I, Mr. President? In the last 15 years, the President of the United States did help and attended signing of the peace treaty between an Arab country and Israel.

NOTE: The President's 77th news conference began at 12:55 p.m. in the Convention Center. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

Statement on Signing Legislation on United States Policy on Haiti

October 25, 1994

Today I have signed into law S.J. Res. 229, "Regarding United States policy toward Haiti."

In signing this joint resolution, it is important to clarify the interpretation of a provision related to the President's authority and responsibility as Commander in Chief.

Section 2 of the resolution calls, *inter alia*, for a detailed description of "the general rules of engagement under which operations of the United States Armed Forces are conducted in and around Haiti." I interpret this language as seeking only information about the rules of engagement that I may supply consistent with my constitutional responsibilities, and not information of a sensitive operational nature.

Let me take this opportunity to associate myself unreservedly with the joint resolution's commendation of the professional excellence and dedicated patriotism with which the men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces are performing their mission in Haiti.

The combination of determined diplomacy and military resolve achieved, just 1 month ago, an agreement that permitted the peaceful deployment of U.S. and multinational forces to Haiti pursuant to the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 940. And on October 15, culminating 3 years of international efforts led by the United States, Haiti's democratically elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, stood on the steps of the Presidential Palace in Port-au-Prince and addressed tens of thousand of his countrymen and women in an atmosphere of joy, reconciliation, and rebuilding.

That historic achievement capped a breathtaking month of democratic restoration and the beginnings of Haiti's economic recovery, all made possible by the dedicated efforts of our service men and women in Haiti. The Haitian people no longer live in fear; they now have hope. The coup leaders are gone from Haiti and the thugs are no longer in control. Haiti's parliament is open. It has enacted an amnesty law and is busy laying the legislative groundwork for stronger democratic institutions. The Mayor of Port-au-Prince has been restored to office after 3 years of internal exile, the legitimate Prime Minister and Cabinet have reclaimed their offices, and the state media are back at the service of the people. The lights are on again in Cap-Haitian after 2 years of darkness as electrical service is expanded throughout the

country. With the lifting of all U.S. and international sanctions upon President Aristide's return to Haiti, commercial fuel and food shipments and airline service have resumed.

The full restoration of democracy opens a period of hope for the Haitian people. Only they can reconcile their country. As the international community supports them with a major program of economic assistance, our military personnel participating in the multinational force will maintain the climate of basic security in which those goals can be achieved. Through police monitors and trainers, the multinational force will lay the groundwork for the transition of the Haitian army to a professional defense force and for the creation of a civilian police force.

We expect that within months, the bulk of our military personnel will leave Haiti. The multinational coalition will transfer responsibility to the United Nations Mission in Haiti in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 940. Our forces' accomplishments in the last month have been superb. I am confident they will maintain their outstanding record and leave a Haiti poised to consolidate its hard-won democracy, create a brighter future for all its people, and become a factor for stability in the region and hemisphere.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 25, 1994.

NOTE: S.J. Res. 229, approved October 25, was assigned Public Law No. 103-423. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 28.

Exchange With Reporters in Jerusalem

October 28, 1994

Holocaust Memorial

Q. Mr. President, Voice of Israel, live—a word if I may. What did you put in writing in the guestbook, sir? May I bother you to approach the mike, sir, please?

The President. I wrote that today we are one step closer to the time when the people of Israel can live together in peace with all of your neighbors, the time when people of

Israel will never again suffer death and destruction—the events that are memorialized here—simply because of their race or their faith, and may God let it come to pass.

President's Visit

Q. Mr. President, how would you summarize your visit in Israel?

The President. It was a wonderful visit. I was deeply touched by the reception of the people, grateful for the opportunity to address the Knesset. I leave redoubled in the support of the American people for the people of Israel and redoubled in my determination to continue until we have a comprehensive peace.

Q. What will be your message to your troops in Kuwait, sir?

The President. I'm very proud of them.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:49 a.m. at the Vad Vashem. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to United States and Coalition Troops at Tactical Assembly Area Liberty in Kuwait

October 28, 1994

The President. Who said, "Go, hog" there?

Audience members. Go, hog!

The President. There's a reward for you somewhere. That's good.

General Peay, General Taylor, Crown Prince Saad. Thank you all for your service. Thank you, Crown Prince Saad, for your fine words. I'm delighted to be here in Kuwait with all of you: with General Peay, with General Taylor, with General Ali; with the Kuwaiti Armed Forces, with our coalition partners from the United Arab Emirate and from Great Britain.

I'm especially glad to be here with all of you Americans in uniform. I understand—when I was getting briefed to come over here, I was being briefed by an earnest young person who said that I just didn't understand what you had been up against, that in addition to dealing with Iraq, you've been plagued by a pretty severe case of Shamal, the desert sandstorm that can make life pretty rough around here. That has been offered

to me as the explanation for why one of the young officers preparing for my visit, Second Lieutenant Rowe, took your brigade commander's personal communications system the other day to report that he had spotted Elvis. *[Laughter]*

Well, there have been times in my life when I wanted to be Elvis, but I'm not. And thanks to Shamal, Lieutenant Rowe will not become the only third lieutenant in the entire United States Army. *[Laughter]*

I want to say to the men and women of Operation Vigilant Warrior, the men and women of the 24th Mechanized, the Victory Division, a division that liberated the Philippines, fought from Korea to the Gulf war, I am honored to be with all of you here in Tactical Assembly Area Liberty. I am proud of the work you're doing for your country.

More than anything else, I came here, after a couple of fascinating, very important days for your country and Egypt and Jordan and Israel and Syria, to say a simple thank you. Thank you for what you have done for Kuwait. Thank you for what you have done for the United States of America.

Nearly 4 years ago, your tanks rolled across these dunes with mighty force. You were the Desert Storm. Then you expelled Iraq from Kuwait. Now we were determined to stop Iraq before it could violate its neighbor's borders and create new instability. So once again, we called upon you, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines. Well, one of the things that will go down in the history of this encounter is that you got here in a very big hurry, and because of that, Iraq got the message in a very big hurry. It withdrew its forces that were massed near the Kuwait border.

You know, when this crisis began, there were a few back home who questioned our military preparedness. To them, I say, they ought to come here and take a look at you, and they would know better.

Our policy in the Gulf is clear. We will not permit Iraq to enhance its capabilities below the 32d parallel. We won't permit Baghdad to intimidate the United Nations teams making sure that Iraq never again possesses weapons of mass destruction. The United States and the international community will not allow Baghdad to threaten its

neighbors now or in the future. That is not our threat, that is our promise. You, you here are keeping that promise. The force you represent is the steel in the sword of American diplomacy. You are the best equipped, best trained, best prepared military in the world and in our Nation's history. You have proved it again here in the Gulf. We are all proud of you.

I know that no monetary value can fully reflect your service to our country. I know that all of you serve for higher reasons. But I am pleased to say today that I have just signed an Executive order to right a wrong in your military pay concerning your subsistence allowance. I think you ought to be rewarded, not penalized, for doing this important job.

If I may say just a serious word for a moment, your country needs you for America to be strong. We are a peace-loving nation, but President Truman once said, "The will for peace without the strength for peace is to no avail." You are that strength. You and your commanders are bringing hope and stability around the world from Port-au-Prince to the Persian Gulf. Our ultimate goal is peace, and that requires even more than military might, it requires the courage to go beyond conflict to reconciliation.

Two days ago I witnessed a brilliant example of that along the border between Israel and Jordan. I applaud the leaders of Israel, Jordan, and others in the Middle East who are turning away from a violent past toward a future of peace. This is difficult and dangerous work, as the vicious terrorist attacks in recent days have shown. The people behind those acts want to prevent peace. They want to perpetuate hatred. They want to undermine your mission. They cannot succeed, they must not succeed, and they will not succeed.

If you ever wonder, sometime out here in the desert, whether what you do makes a real difference, just consider what has happened in the last few weeks. I am honored, as I know all of you are, that America was able to play a role in ending 47 years of conflict between Israel and Jordan, in restoring President Aristide and democracy in Haiti, in helping to make real progress toward an end to the violent conflict in Northern Ireland,

in helping South Africa's democracy to succeed, in building a new partnership with Russia that enables us to say for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there are no nuclear missiles pointed at the children of the United States. And I am also proud of what you have done to stand up to aggression here in the Gulf.

We stand with the people of Kuwait, people who have rebuilt their army and their economy since the difficult days of 1990. The people of Kuwait should be proud of their accomplishments and proud of their tough reactions to Iraq's provocation. The international community will assure that Iraq never threatens your nation again. The proof of that commitment is here in the brave men and women of Operation Vigilant Warrior.

Let me say, too, that we have no quarrel with the people of Iraq. We know the suffering they endured in the war with Iran, a war that blighted an entire generation. Just 2 years after that horrible conflict, Iraq sent its sons to war again, and we know the price they paid for their leader's folly here. But the pain of the people of Iraq is the result of one thing only, the path their leadership has chosen.

So we say again to Iraq: Comply fully with the resolutions of the United Nations. Obey the will and the law of the international community. That is the only way to have a normal life. It is the way the rest of us have followed, and you should try it as well.

My fellow Americans, you're making sacrifices to defend your country, its values, and its interests. I know the demands on you are great. I know your love of country takes you away from home and the family that you love for long stretches of time. I know when you cheered about the announcement I made on pay, part of the cheering was for the folks back home, the children and the hope that you have for your own families and for their future.

What you are doing is assuming America's burdens in this new and challenging time, to maintain our national security, to maintain our national commitments, to help the world move toward peace and freedom. I hope you will always take the pride in your contributions that I see in your faces today, that I hear in your voices today.

Our country is the land of the free and the home of the brave, as the song says. Because of your bravery, we're spreading that freedom to others. Because of your bravery, we will remain forever free.

So I thank you, I thank you for your service. I thank your families back home. God bless you all, and God bless America. Don't forget to go Christmas shopping.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:19 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Binford J.H. Peay III, USA, commander in chief, and Maj. Gen. James B. Taylor, USA, deputy commander, U.S. Central Command; Crown Prince Saad Al Sabah, Prime Minister of Kuwait; and Maj. Gen. Ali Al-Mumen, commander in chief, Kuwaiti Armed Forces.

Remarks on Receiving the Mubarak Medal in Kuwait City, Kuwait

October 28, 1994

First, let me thank you, Royal Highness, and the people of Kuwait for this high honor. Mubarak the Great, your grandfather and the modern-day founder of this proud nation, symbolizes the determination to defend your independence against all aggression.

I accept your honor on behalf of all the American people and especially the men and women of our Armed Forces. They are the strength behind our commitment to Kuwait and to peace and security in the entire Gulf region. They are the steel in our determination never again to allow Iraq to threaten its neighbors. They have stood shoulder to shoulder with your men in arms and once again have said no to aggression and yes to peace.

As the men and women of our Armed Forces work to make peace in the Gulf, far-sighted leaders are making peace elsewhere in the Middle East. I am encouraged by the effort of Arabs and Israelis to live together in peace. As Jordan and Israel have demonstrated, a peace for the generations is now before us.

I want to thank Kuwait especially for the important contribution you have made to the peace process. By helping lead the way to end the boycott of Israel, Kuwait is saying, let us close the door on the past and open

a new page to the future, a future of peaceful coexistence and prosperous commerce for all the people in this region.

Your Royal Highness, the United States stands with those who seek to ensure the triumph of hope over fear. It was just a few years ago that President Bush sent our troops here to defend your very existence. Since that time our friendship has grown and our military cooperation has increased.

Our determination is clear: Kuwait shall remain free. And the United States and Kuwait will remain partners into the future.

I thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 7 p.m. in Bayan Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Amir Jabir Sabah of Kuwait. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Executive Order 12935—Amending Executive Order No. 11157 as it Relates to the Definition of “Field Duty”

October 28, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 402(e)(1) of title 37, United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Amendments to Executive Order No. 11157. (a) Section 303(e) of Executive Order No. 11157 of June 22, 1964, as amended, is further amended by striking out “— (1) the member is under orders with troops operating against an enemy, actual or potential; or (2)”.

(b) Section 401(b) of Executive Order No. 11157 of June 22, 1964, as amended, is further amended by striking out “service by a member under orders with troops operating against an enemy, actual or potential, or” in the first sentence.

Sec. 2. Effective Date. The amendments to Executive Order No. 11157 made in this order shall take effect at 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time on October 28, 1994.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 28, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:30 a.m., October 28, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 31.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President’s public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

October 22

In the morning, the President traveled to San Francisco, CA, and in the evening, he traveled to Seattle, WA.

The President announced his intention to appoint Eamon Mahony, Jr., as the Federal Commissioner and Fred D. Helms as the Alternate Federal Commissioner of the Arkansas River Compact Commission.

October 23

In the morning, the President attended services at University Presbyterian Church in Seattle.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Cleveland, OH.

October 24

In the afternoon, the President attended a reception for Ohio Attorney General Lee Fisher at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. He then traveled to Akron, OH, where he toured the Inventure Place construction site.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

October 25

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Cairo, Egypt.

The President announced his intention to appoint Robert Robles, Barbara J. Sabol, and Kaye Theimer as members of the Commission on Child and Family Welfare.

The President announced his intention to appoint Barbara H. Britten, M. Austin Forman, James T. McCarthy, and Michael F. Tillman, to be U.S. Commissioners of the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission.

October 26

Following their arrival in Cairo in the very early morning, the President and Hillary Clinton were met by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Mrs. Mubarak and then participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the Tomb of Anwar Sadat. They then rested at the El-Qubbah Palace.

Later in the morning, the President met with President Mubarak in the President's Library at the palace. The two Presidents then met with Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat. In the late morning, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Aqaba, Jordan.

In the afternoon, the President attended a trilateral luncheon at the Aqaba Royal Palace. He and Hillary Clinton then traveled to Amman, Jordan.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a welcoming ceremony at the Parliament. Later in the evening, they attended a dinner hosted by King Hussein and Queen Noor of Jordan at the Nadwa Palace.

The President announced his appointment of Dudley R. Herschbach as Chairman and Cathleen S. Morawetz, Susan Graham, and William J. Wilson as members of the President's Committee for the National Medal of Science.

October 27

In the morning, the President traveled to Damascus, Syria, where he met with President Hafiz al-Asad at the Presidential Palace.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Tel Aviv, Israel, where he was joined by Hillary Clinton.

In the evening, the President met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the King David Hotel. He and Hillary Clinton then went to the Knesset where they participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Eternal Flame.

October 28

In the morning, the President had a breakfast meeting with President Ezer Weizman of Israel at his residence.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Kuwait. Following an arrival ceremony, he met with U.S. and coalition troops,

viewed military equipment, and attended a briefing with coalition commanders at Tactical Assembly Area Liberty.

In the evening, the President met with Amir Jabir Sabah of Kuwait at the Bayan Palace in Kuwait City. Following the meeting, the President traveled to King Khalid Military City, Saudi Arabia, where he met with King Fahd.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released October 22

Statement by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta on the President's opposition to Social Security and Medicare cuts

Transcript of remarks by Senator Dianne Feinstein at the President's signing of the memorandum on safe schools legislation

Released October 24

Transcript of a press briefing by Anne Edwards on trip logistics for the Middle East

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing legislation signed by the President

Released October 25

Announcement of legislation signed by the President

Released October 26

Transcript of an exchange with reporters by Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat in Cairo, Egypt

Released October 27

Transcript of an interview with Chief of Staff Leon Panetta

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the President's meeting with President Asad of Syria

Transcript of a press briefing by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen and former Social Security Commissioner Robert Ball on the economy

Released October 28

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's signing of Executive Order 12935, changing the definition of "Field Duty" to ensure parity among deployed troops

Transcript of a press briefing by Vice President Albert Gore on the economy

Transcript of a press briefing by CENTCOM Commander Gen. Binford J.H. Peay III, USA, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake on U.S. military operations in Kuwait

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved October 22

H.R. 2135 / Public Law 103-384
Native American Veterans' Memorial Establishment Act of 1994

H.R. 2294 / Public Law 103-385
To redesignate the Post Office building located at 1000 Lamar Street in Wichita Falls, Texas, as the "Graham B. Purcell, Jr. Post Office Building"

H.R. 4192 / Public Law 103-386
To designate the United States Post Office building located at 3000 Veterans Drive in Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands, as the "Arturo R. Watlington, Sr. Post Office"

H.R. 4278 / Public Law 103-387
Social Security Domestic Employment Reform Act of 1994

H.R. 4361 / Public Law 103-388
Federal Employees Family Friendly Leave Act

H.R. 4535 / Public Law 103-389
Unlisted Trading Privileges Act of 1994

H.R. 4896 / Public Law 103-390
To grant the Consent of the Congress to the Kansas and Missouri Metropolitan Culture District Compact

H.R. 4924 / Public Law 103-391
Rhinoceros and Tiger Conservation Act of 1994

H.R. 4950 / Public Law 103-392
Jobs Through Trade Expansion Act of 1994

H.R. 5053 / Public Law 103-393
Water Bank Extension Act of 1994

H.R. 5116 / Public Law 103-394
Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1994

H.J. Res. 425 / Public Law 103-395
Providing for the convening of the First Session of the One Hundred Fourth Congress

S. 340 / Public Law 103-396
Animal Medicinal Drug Use Clarification Act of 1994

S. 455 / Public Law 103-397
Payments In Lieu of Taxes Act

S. 528 / Public Law 103-398
Lincoln County, Montana, Lands Transfer Act of 1994

S. 720 / Public Law 103-399
Indian Lands Open Dump Cleanup Act of 1994

S. 1225 / Public Law 103-400
United States-Mexico Border Health Commission Act

S. 1312 / Public Law 103-401
Pension Annuitants Protection Act of 1994

S. 1457 / Public Law 103-402
To amend the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands Restitution Act to increase authorization for

appropriation to compensate Aleut villages for church property lost, damaged, or destroyed during World War II

S. 2060 / Public Law 103–403
Small Business Administration Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 1994

S. 2073 / Public Law 103–404
To designate the Warren B. Rudman United States Courthouse, the Jamie L. Whitten Federal Building, and the William H. Natcher Federal Building and United States Courthouse

S. 2395 / Public Law 103–405
To designate the United States Courthouse in Detroit, Michigan, as the “Theodore Levin Courthouse”, and for other purposes

S. 2466 / Public Law 103–406
Energy Policy and Conservation Act Amendments of 1994

S. 2500 / Public Law 103–407
Sheep Promotion, Research, and Information Act of 1994

S.J. Res. 90 / Public Law 103–408
To recognize the achievements of radio amateurs, and to establish support for such amateurs as national policy

H.R. 2266 / Private Law 103–6
For the relief of Orlando Wayne Naraysingh

H.R. 2411 / Private Law 103–7
For the relief of Leteane Clement Monatsi

Approved October 25

H.R. 512 / Public Law 103–409
FEGLI Living Benefits Act

H.R. 2056 / Public Law 103–410
To redesignate the Post Office building located at 600 Princess Anne Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia, as the “Samuel E. Perry Post Office Building”

H.R. 2440 / Public Law 103–411
Independent Safety Board Act Amendments of 1994

H.R. 4833 / Public Law 103–412
American Indian Trust Fund Management Reform Act of 1994

H.R. 4842 / Public Law 103–413
Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994

H.R. 4922 / Public Law 103–414
To amend title 18, United States Code, to make clear a telecommunications carrier’s duty to cooperate in the interception of communications for law enforcement purposes, and for other purposes

H.R. 5034 / Public Law 103–415
To make certain technical amendments relating to the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956, the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, and other provisions of law

H.R. 783 / Public Law 103–416
Immigration and Nationality Technical Corrections Act of 1994

S. 784 / Public Law 103–417
Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act of 1994

S. 1927 / Public Law 103–418
Veterans’ Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1994

S. 2372 / Public Law 103–419
Civil Rights Commission Amendments Act of 1994

S. 2407 / Public Law 103–420
Judicial Amendments Act of 1994

S. 2534 / Public Law 103–421
Base Closure Community Redevelopment and Homeless Assistance Act of 1994

S.J. Res. 227 / Public Law 103–422
Approving the location of a Thomas Paine Memorial and a World War II Memorial in the Nation’s Capital

S.J. Res. 229 / Public Law 103–423
Regarding United States policy toward Haiti

H.R. 808 / Private Law 103–8
For the relief of James B. Stanley